JPRS-NEA-84-005

11 January 1984

Near East/South Asia Report

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS-NEA-84-005

11 January 1984

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

SOUTH ASIA

Briefs

LATEST SECURITY DEVELOPMENTS IN GULF DESCRIBED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1405, 7 Oct 83 pp 24-27

[Article by "S.F.": "America Uncovers the Gaps in France's Position, and Paris Attacks the Logic of the Balance of Weakness in the Gulf!"]

[Text] While the eyes of the world are fixed on Lebanon and the Lebanese war, the Gulf war is witnessing provocative developments and changes, signs of which have begun to surface. International interest in these developments began when a certain party leaked information on the French Super Etendard deal with Iraq to the Parisian newspaper LE MONDE last June. Some say an official French source leaked the news, while others say that American intelligence obtained the details of the Iraqi-French contract and then leaked the information to the press through a French source.

When the deal was confirmed and its details and the dates for the delivery of the five aircraft, which belong to the French navy and are outfitted with the Exocet missiles they require, were learned, lengthy discussions and conversations went on between Washington and Paris. At the same time, the American Government put pressure on the French Government to stop or freeze the Super Etendard deal. The American Government used the pretext that Gulf states were worried about this development, since it would expose them to Iranian retribution. It said these countries also wanted to freeze the matter!

The Americans told the French that Iraq's acquisition of the Super Etendard aircraft, outfitted with Exocet missiles, would give its forces a qualitative strategic and military advantage, enabling it to destroy the vital Iranian oil targets on Khark Island. They said Iran would not stand with its hands bound in the face of this. If it were impossible for it to respond to the Iraqi challenge in Iraq, it would do so by taking action against the other Gulf states and the Western oil interests in the Gulf.

The French replied that though the French deal would give Iraq a military advantage, the current situation gave Iran an economic one, thereby enabling it to continue fighting the war and rejecting both peace and entry into negotiations for ending the war. They said that this in turn posed a danger to the Gulf states and the West's oil interests. The French said as well that it was unreasonable for Iran to continue exporting oil at the rate of 2 million barrels a day and so continue to obtain surplus foreign

exchange, while Iraq had almost ceased exporting and the Iraqi Government was unable to pay its debts to Western governments and companies. Consequently, France's decision to give Iraq advanced, long-range aircraft was not intended to harm Iran so much as it was meant to pressure the Iranian Government and so force it to negotiate about ending the war.

As part of the American-French discussion on the subject of the aircraft and their implications for developments in the war, American intelligence officers gave their counterparts in French intelligence a complete folder on Iran's capability to confront this change. The folder contained photographs taken by American spy and information-gathering satellites. The Americans told the French that these pictures showed clearly that the Iranian Air Force had moved most of its remaining fighter and bomber aircraft to Iran's southern air bases. From there, as the American officers said, they would be able to strike the oil fields and installations in most countries of the Gulf!

The American officers opened another folder of satellite photographs and told the French that it showed the Iranian occupation of Larak Island in Omani waters near the Straits of Hormuz. This was confirmed by the newspaper AL-JUMHURIYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH last week, when it published a news item about the landing of 600 Iranian soldiers on the island, where a military base was immediately set up opposite the coast of Oman and the UAE. The Americans said that this Iranian military presence between Oman and the UAE was intended to close the Straits of Hormuz in case of dire necessity, thereby preventing the Gulf's oil from being shipped abroad by means of tankers. A lesser goal could be to control shipping in the Straits of Hormuz in order to harass ships carrying civilian and military cargos to Iraq via the ports of the region!

The American officers then opened a third folder for their French colleagues. It held satellite pictures showing new Iranian installations for exporting oil from distant, southern ports. The Americans said that these installations formed an Iranian precaution against the Super Etendard planes, should they be used to strike the facilities on Khark Island. The new facilities would be far outside the range of the aforementioned planes, should they be based at Iraqi airfields. Basing them at Gulf airfields close to Iran's southern ports is considered unlikely. In the opinion of the American officers, this decreases the strategic and military advantage which the Super Etendard aircraft give Iraq's armed forces. A gap is opened in the French logic on the basis of which it was decided to give these planes to Iraq.

The Americans told the French that this was not the only serious hole in their logic. Rather, they said there were others of no less importance. France had initially supposed that Iran would not be able to respond to this step, and that economics, as embodied in the exporting of petroleum and the financial returns earned from it were the basis of Iran's insistence on continuing the war. Consequently, Iran would come to the negotiating table only if it felt real economic destruction!

The French listened to these American points and said they had no objection to postponing the delivery of the planes to Iraq for a period of time. Perhaps the media noise concerning the subject would die down. The Iraqi fliers would be given more of a chance to train. However, at the same time, they responded to the aforementioned American analysis by discussing the Iranian position on the assumption that the Americans had exaggerated the magnitude of Iran's confrontational ability.

The French said that they believed that Iran's threats to strike the oil installations in the Gulf countries and close the Straits of Hormuz to international shipping were a kind of blackmail which would not be able to stand up in the face of military facts on the ground. They said that the Gulf countries, some of which have French-made weapons and aircraft, were at least able to defend their installations if they wanted. If they did not want to, due to political considerations, then the Western allies--America, France and Britain--had a huge naval and air force in the international waters near to and around the Gulf which could deal with the Iranian threat in a decisive and effective manner.

This point which the French raised was accepted by the Americans in principle. However, they said that its basic flaw was a failure to take into account the Soviet Union, which possesses a huge military force on Iran's northern border. In expressing their reservations about this French argument, the Americans said that France had to recall that the government of the Islamic Republic in Iran, under the leadership of Khomeyni, had canceled all the foreign treaties contracted in previous eras except for the Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1921. It was content to cancel only two clauses of this treaty. The Americans said that the Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1921 gave the Soviet Union the right to enter Iran's territory if it felt its security to be threatened by a third force intervening in Iran. This was the only excuse Stalin used when he ordered the Soviet Army to march against Iran in August 1941, during the Second World War. The Soviet march against Iran came only 2 months after the forces of the Allies marched into Syria and Lebanon in order to expel the Vichy government, with support from the American fleet stationed off the Lebanese coast. This operation was known as "Exporter." AL-HAWADITH referred to it 2 weeks ago, when the American Government decided to reinforce its fleet off the Lebanese coast by adding the battleship "New Jersey." This was after the Americans decided to open fire from the sea on Lebanese territory during the battle of the Mountain.

The Americans said that any decision by the naval forces of the Western allies in the region of the Gulf to come to blows with Iran would give the Soviet Union a pretext for intervening in Iran, where its influence has decreased considerably recently. There are two reasons for this. On the one hand, the Iranian authorities have struck out at the Communist Tudeh Party. On the other, a rapprochement has begun to occur between Tehran and Washington, while the financial problems between the two countries left over from the embassy crisis in the time of President Carter have been solved.

In this discussion, the Americans emphasized diplomatic and military tactics which aim to contain a mobile regional power by giving it a greater degree of influence in its vital zone, as happened in Lebanon recently. In this regard, they said that giving Syria a greater degree of influence in Lebanon was what had enabled Washington to arrange the ceasefire agreement. They said that giving Iran a greater degree of influence in the Gulf was, in their estimation, the key to the solution there, or, at least, the key to arranging a similar ceasefire agreement!

At this point, a heated discussion began of all the strategic details in the possession of the two sides, or the two main partners interested in the Lebanese war and the Gulf war, America and France. The French said that America's logic would Lebanonize the Gulf and expose the Gulf states to internal disturbances, as happened in Lebanon. The French opened a folder containing serious information on this matter, in order to confirm their point of view.

This French information pointed out that arms caches had been discovered in at least one Gulf country, and that there was a core of armed militias in those countries whose membership was no less than 5,000. The information pointed out that some Iranian subjects in the Gulf had at least personal arms, while some had more than that. The information stated as well that the Iranian authorities, perhaps with inside help, had recently obtained real, non-falsified Iraqi and Gulf passports, just as happened with Lebanese passports between 1976 and 1980.

The information also said that the Iranians were currently active in Europe, especially in Madrid, Athens, Rome and London. As for their activity in Paris, it was at a minimum, due to the attention the French security authorities had given this activity since French-Iranian relations became tense. Iranian activity in the aforementioned European capitals--especially that of Ambassador Ibrahim Bahnam in Athens and Ambassador Khasro Shahi in Rome--focuses on Gulf students, whom it reached through the Islamic educational institutes which have been opened there. Financial and cultural incentives are offered to the students, "so that the instruction is an introduction to training," as one of the reports said. It named a number of Gulf students who traveled to Iran for this purpose with Iranian passports!

According to this information, Iran is readying and training a group of frogmen who specialize in explosive operations in marine areas.

In this analysis of theirs, the French point to Iran's successful exploitation of the Gulf states' fears in establishing a special relationship with a Gulf country. The relationship has developed so far that this country has become a "recognized intercessor" for Iran in its Gulf relations. In this regard, one report says, "This type of special relationship provides no assured protection, for it is a tactical relationship between a strong party and a weak one. As the special tactical relationship between some Lebanese factions and Israel has shown, such a relationship between a strong party and a weak one does not turn an enemy into an ally. Rather, it helps to make matters more complex, when the security situation becomes more explosive and serious."

include a project to build 60,000 houses in three years, an underground transit system for Algiers and expansion of Algiers airport and the national railway network. These contracts have helped French exporters to regain some of the ground they lost during the 1970s when Algeria was pursuing a policy of diversifying its foreign trade partners. By 1979, France's share of the Algerian market had slipped to 18.4 per cent, but is expected to exceed 25 per cent this year.

In spite of the gas deal, the trade balance between the two countries is moving in France's favour and is expected to reach parity by 1985. Last year, France's deficit amounted to FF 11.9 billion ($1.46 billion); but the increase in French exports and the fall in the price of Algerian gas from $5.12 per million BTUs 18 months ago to $3.00 today have combined to push the deficit down to FF 5 billion ($615 million) for the first seven months of this year.

Algeria remains a stronghold for French trade and influence, but it is by no means an easy market. State-owned concerns award contracts not just on the basis of price and quality, but also according to which trading partners show a willingness to buy Algerian hydrocarbons in return. This concept of balanced trade relations was the rationale behind the gas deals struck with France and Italy. Through Italian contractors are reported to be [illegible] that none of the Lire [illegible] billion [illegible] worth of contracts which they had understood they would won has yet been finalised. Among these contracts, [illegible] $500-million order for a gas collection plant in [illegible] but for by Bonomagetti and a $100-million [illegible] contract for Saipem. Both companies are affiliates of the ENI group, which [illegible] in Algeria. [illegible] Italy. Algeria's third largest [illegible] accounts a deficit of $700 million in trade with Algeria last year.

[illegible] trade balance, they could [illegible] the purchase of Algerian oil [illegible] million (Dm 1.5 million) last year. This [illegible] Algeria from running a deficit of [illegible] in 1981. Nevertheless [illegible] EDF was Europe's biggest [illegible] the deficit [illegible]

[illegible] Algerian market [illegible] Renault [illegible] Algerian [illegible] Renault [illegible] Algeria, [illegible]

behind, though Plessey, Tarmac and Brook Marine have all been awarded contracts in the last two years.

The vitality of the Algerian economy at a time when other oil producers are feeling the pinch of reduced revenue can be explained partly by the strength of the US dollar, in which almost all Algeria's earnings are denominated. About half its imports are denominated in currencies that have lost value against the dollar. In addition, Sonatrach has shown versatility in matching its product range, which includes condensates, gas and LPG as well as crude oil, to market requirements. Hydrocarbon revenue is now expected to top the $12 billion mark by the end of the year, in spite of earlier fears that the fall in OPEC prices last spring would result in a fall of $1.5 billion below the 1982 figure of $12.7 billion.

Import restrictions were imposed in July 1982 but relaxed last summer. There are indications that imports for the year will be 5 per cent below last year's total of around $10 billion.

Algeria's credit rating is clearly high, as the keen response to the recent $700 million syndicated loan has shown (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, November 14). One reason for this is that Algeria had the foresight to rein in its borrowing on international capital markets in 1979-80, fearing that the drive towards heavy industrialisation had loaded the country with an unacceptably high level of foreign debt.

Now disbursed debt is put at about $15 billion with another $3-4 billion in lines of credit committed [illegible] Bank debt [illegible]

[illegible]

[FOREIGN TRADE PLAN FOR 1984 EXAMINED]

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 5 Dec 83 p 16

[Article] "The Overall 1984 Foreign Trade Plan Approved By the Council of Ministers: The Government Adopts Implementing Texts for Laws Regarding Social Security and a Draft Decree Relating to Private Domestic Investment in the Real Estate Sector"

[Text] Algiers (APS)--The Council of Ministers met yesterday, 4 December 1983, at the office of the president, and the meeting was chaired by Mr Chadli Bendjedid, president of Algeria and secretary general of the FLN Party.

The Council of Ministers listened to a report by the prime minister on government activities.

The prime minister also informed the council about the visit he just made to Tunisia which fits into the new dynamic impetus being given to Algerian-Tunisian relations by the chiefs of state of the two countries.

Based on a report of the secretary of state for foreign trade, the Council of Ministers considered and approved the overall foreign trade plan for 1984.

The overall foreign trade plan takes into account the economic and social directives set for the annual plan. Thus, 75 percent of the overall foreign trade line is devoted to economic growth.

The Council of Ministers noted the positive growth in foreign trade, which growth has resulted since the 1st year of the Nemmar plan in 1980, in regular and substantial trade surpluses. These surpluses have met it possible not only to offset the services account deficit but also to increase our reserves according to schedule throughout the period since 1980. The process of getting out of debt.

In concluding the proceedings, the Algerian president reiterated his guidelines for carrying out the overall 1984 foreign trade plan so as to maximize non-hydrocarbon exports and limit imports to the goods essential to the smooth functioning of the economy and to meeting the basic needs of citizens.

The chief of state emphasized the need to work out a genuine export plan for the entire domestic production sector.

Based on a report of the minister of planning and national development, the Council of Ministers considered and approved several cases of financial restructuring within the energy (3 companies), hydraulics (4 companies), housing (20 companies), culture (1 company), and health (1 company) sectors.

In accordance with the approach decided on, the measures approved for all of those cases involve, firstly, internal actions within the company meant to improve their management and operation. The measures are concerned with the objectives set for the companies such as hikes in production and cuts in expenditures, particularly in the areas of setting up inventories and debt collection. Secondly, they involve permanent and temporary assistance endowments to enable the companies to have their own capital and attain an adequate level of funds for stabilizing their financial situation.

Based on a report of the minister of finance, the Council of Ministers considered and approved a bill relating to the finance laws.

This bill establishes the legal framework for the introduction, the contents, the passage and the regulatory administration of finance laws, and it will supplement the body of laws already in place in order to make it possible to rationally plan and program and to provide for sound management of government finances.

Based on a report of the minister of interior, the Council of Ministers considered and approved a bill amending and adding to the Communal Code.

This bill is aimed at making it possible to improve the administrative and technical management of communes in the light of actual experience.

Both the bills will be submitted to the National Popular Assembly.

Based on a report of the secretary of state for social affairs, the Council of Ministers adopted 6 regulatory texts for the purpose of implementing the social security laws [illegible] to enter into effect on 1 January 1984.

These regulatory texts specify the requirements and modalities for obtaining the different social security allowances.

The texts also provide the organization for the temporary administration of social security until restructuring of the social security sector is implemented.

The Council of Ministers considered and approved a draft decree relating to the promotion of private investment in real estate.

The real estate sector promotion is legally based on the provisions of Law No 82-11 of 21 August 1982 relating to private domestic investment, and it requires the establishment of an appropriate legal mechanism and the lifting of some constraints, particularly in connection with the allocation of the necessary plots of land for the construction of buildings for rental or legal transfer purposes. The provisions of the abovementioned draft decree meet that concern.

The Council of Ministers listened to a report presented by the minister of planning and national development assessing the implementation of Law No 82-11 of 21 August 1982 relating to private domestic investment.

Thus, during the period from May to October 1983, 452 projects amounting to a total of 1,352 million dinars were approved, giving rise to the creation of 8,140 new jobs.

The Council of Ministers took note of the main trends in approved private investment during that period, at both the national approval committee and wilaya approval committee levels. After that the Council of Ministers made a series of decisions to stimulate the process of making duly approved private investments by lifting the constraints of a bureaucratic nature which continue to hinder them, particularly constraints in regard to acquiring the necessary plots of land for setting up the approved projects, and constraints in the area of equipment, raw material, and semi-finished goods supply.

The Council of Ministers listened to a report by the minister of agriculture and agrarian reform on the measures implemented to relieve the effects of the drought which has been prevalent in the country and on what actions [illegible] [illegible] for the purpose of protecting livestock, in case that situation persists. The Council of Ministers acquainted itself with the activities that have been and will be carried out, in particular that [illegible] [illegible] and health campaign.

Finally, the Council of Ministers listened to a report on the serious and [illegible] [illegible] that gave rise to the arrival of [illegible] per [illegible]

On the occasion of that report the Algerian president stressed the necessity to continue the local development effort, and he especially emphasized the need to, on the one hand, encourage any activity that can add to development in the agricultural sector and, on the other hand, show sustained interest in small-scale fellahin.

9631
CSO: 4519/58

PROBLEMS OF NEW LIQUEFIED PETROLEUM GAS PLANT

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 47, 21 Nov 83 p 11

[Text]

The state of the world market for liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) may make it hard for Algeria to use to the full new LPG capacity which will soon be going into production. It could, however mean that Algeria will find itself becoming the swing producer for LPG much in the same way Saudi Arabia is OPEC's swing producer of crude oil. Four LPG units, each with a capacity of 1 million tonnes a year are being built at Arzew on the coast near Oran the first of which is due to come on stream this month with the rest next year. They will boost capacity by 4 million tonnes a year, enabling Sonatrach, the state-owned hydrocarbons combine, to raise LPG exports from just under 1 million tonnes this year to an estimated 1.9 million next year and up to 5.5 million tonnes by 1986.

However, only 15 million tonnes of LPG are traded internationally every year, including 13 million tonnes bought by Japan. According to one estimate, there is a 70 per cent chance that LPG output next year will [illegible] strip demand in premium markets such as those for home heating. A new report entitled *LPG Markets and Pricing — The Critical Years, 1982-86* argues that once the premium markets are saturated LPG would have to compete with naphtha as a petrochemical feedstock, entailing the risk of a steep fall in the price of LPG.

Apart from the question of demand the Algerians will also have to consider the relationship between LPG output and crude oil and gas production. LPG [illegible] either from crude oil as in Saudi Arabia or from gas as in the case of Algeria and the US. The US produced about 34 million tonnes of LPG last year and [illegible] 90 million tonnes out of total [illegible] of around 100 million tonnes.

This means that LPG production is closely [illegible] with that of oil and gas which in turn [illegible] energy demand and the level of [illegible] world. Thus when crude oil production in Saudi Arabia fell sharply last winter, the Saudis reduced LPG production by about 40 per cent, triggering a rise in the price of LPG from $140 per tonne to [illegible]

1983. An added anomaly was that under Saudi Arabia's contract with the Japanese, the price should have fallen to about $200 per tonne to match the cut in OPEC crude oil prices from $34 to $29 per barrel.

Japan is interested in increasing its imports of LPG and condensates from Algeria. Indeed the new LPG plant at Arzew is being built by Japan's Ishikawajima Harima Heavy Industries. And higher imports of Algerian hydrocarbons should help Japanese exporters to improve their position in the growing Algerian market.

The report cited above says the best estimate for Algeria's LPG exports in 1984 is 1.9 million tonnes, but stresses that this is a tentative reckoning for sales that could range between 1.2 million and 2.8 million tonnes. The Algerians have hewed to a hard line on pricing for their exports of crude oil and natural gas; they are unlikely to let their LPG exports go for a song. If as a result, they are forced to cut back LPG exports and output, they could reinject the LPG, retain it in the natural gas shipped to Italy through the Trans-Mediterranean pipeline or store it in aquifers.

Since the extra production capacity Algeria acquires over the next three years may be enough to create surplus supplies of LPG in the world market, Algeria may find itself in the position of swing producer, regulating its output to avert a drastic erosion in prices.

[illegible] REVIEWED

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 1031, [illegible] Dec 83 pp [illegible]

[Article by Kamal [illegible]: "Fifth FLN Party Congress. Education-Training: [illegible] Of Investment"]

[Text] If figures, too, are a measure of progress, here is one that tells us a lot about our country's overall evolution: one fourth of the Algerian population--taken from among the youngest age brackets--is going either to school, to [illegible] school, or to college. To arrive at that, to achieve a result that contrasts so much with the weak and strained situation prevailing after independence, huge public investments had to be made.

This is the most significant characteristic of our revolutionary process: if [illegible] is to become a concrete reality, we will have to [illegible] these past [illegible] our efforts to [illegible] and strengthening the agricultural and industrial base of the country. [illegible] to that. [illegible] will be managed by Algerians who are both competent and [illegible]. [illegible] efforts must be made [illegible] Algerians are conscious of what they owe to [illegible] of the great [illegible]

[illegible]

VARIOUS OPPOSITION LEADERS DISCUSS FORMATION OF COALITION

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 30 Oct 83 p 3

[Article: "The Egyptian Opposition Prepares To Form 'Shadow Governments!'; AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT and the Three Opposition Heads in a Frank Conversation"]

[Text] The Committee of Egyptian National Forces for the Defense of Democracy has demanded a "written response" from Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the Egyptian prime minister, to the eight demands spelled out by the first declaration the committee issued, at its first meeting, for continuing the course of democracy and changing the Egyptian opposition parties' position on boycotting the coming People's Assembly elections.

Mustafa Kamil Murad, chairman of the Liberal Party, who requested the "written response" of the Egyptian prime minister during his latest meeting with him last Wednesday, stated that he received an absolute promise, which he conveyed to the committee of Egyptian National Forces, that he would receive a "written response" from the government before the committee's second meeting, which is to be held on Friday 4 November. He said that he requested to meet President Mubarak to talk to him on this subject.

Commenting on the committee's statement and the position of Egypt's ruling National Party, on the convocation of its first meeting, the chairman of the Liberal Party said, "It was absolutely not the objective to discuss President Mubarak's leadership or detract from Muhy-al-Din's cabinet. Rather, we were fully serious about the substance of the title, which is 'Committee for the Defense of Democracy.' We sent an invitation under this title to the ruling National Party, but it did not send representatives; had it honored the essence of the meeting, which had absolutely no relationship to politics, its representatives would have attended and would have spoken with us."

The chairman of the Liberal Party (the domestic capitalist wing of the Egyptian opposition) added that the subjects of discussion in the coming second meeting of the Committee for the Defense of Democracy, which is to be held at the Liberal Party's headquarters in nairo, will be determined on the basis of the content of the government's anticipated written response to the opposition's second demands, considering that it wants total democracy for Egypt. The government's response might lead to the presentation of the notion of an opposition party boycott of the coming People's Assembly elections, as was the case with the elections to the Consultative Assembly.

Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Socialist Labor Party, said, "The Committee for the Defense of Democracy in Egypt has formed its permanent secretariat, which is to meet every 2 weeks and in which all tendencies will be represented. Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, the vice chairman of the Labor Party, will assume the responsibilities of rapporteur of this secretariat, which will be defined in light of the changes, the government's response to the opposition demands and the points of discussion in the anticipated second meeting of opposition parties and Egyptian nationalist forces and personalities."

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the chairman of the Progressive Unionist Grouping party, asserted that the Committee for the Defense of Democracy, as initially agreed upon, represents an on going relationship between the forces which consider democracy as their primary and just cause.

In this context, the chairman of the Grouping party sees the necessity of supporting the cause by going down among the people and forming a public opinion supportive of democracy through conferences and declarations and through the signing of petitions which the opposition sends to the political leadership and which will assert the masses' belief in the demand that free valid elections be held which are truly expressive of various opinions and orientations."

[We asked] "Haven't the recent Consultative Assembly elections given a reassuring indication concerning the credibility of the announcement on the attendance rates and the results? These turned out to be totally different from what was announced before and was characterized by a falsification of the truth. Can you also say that there was an aversion to participation in the elections on the part of the people?"

The Turnout Was 3 Percent

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din replied, "The turnout was in no way greater than 3 percent; it was not 51 percent, as was announced. I was in al-Minya and went through 12 villages, and I confirmed that. You need simply know that in the Heliopolis District, which has 3,000 boxes in five precincts, only 30 citizens witnessed the Consultative Assembly elections."

Mustafa Kamil Murad replied, "What happened was just a change in tactics, not in falsification. Throughout the history of elections in Egypt, the turnout has been no greater than 24 percent in the towns and 35 percent in the rural areas. That happened in 1924. What I can state is that the recent Consultative Assembly elections had a turnout of only 9 percent in Cairo. If the elections had been by personal identity card, as was requested, the number of people registered in the election rolls would have been 24 million."

Ibrahim Shukri replied, "What is certain is that there were conditions bearing on the exercise of democracy in Egypt, foremost among them the issue of the elections, whose procedures we want to correct. This will be one of the essential points to be presented before the second general conference of the Labor Party, which is to be held on the 23rd and 24th of next month. The party's decision on whether or not to enter the elections for the next People's

Assembly, even under current conditions, is an issue which neither the party chairman nor its executive committee, but rather the general conference, will decide."

[We stated] "However, the opposition's statement sets out a precondition for entering the coming elections: the need to eliminate the system of election by absolute party lists and conditional proportions and to return to the old system of elections considering that it is in your opinion compatible with the constitution. At the same time the ruling party wonders why there is opposition to and fear over the stipulation that one attain a proportion of 8 percent of the total votes of the voters, if the party [the Labor Party] indeed enjoys popular support."

The Socialist Labor Party chairman replied, "If our aspirations in the Labor Party, stopped at just that percentage, it would be more appropriate that the party not enter the elections at all, and that we hold off to another later campaign. I can say that it was not in our minds to obtain at least 50 percent or not to enter the elections. The question is related to the need to establish sound methods of conduct related to a given party. I can imagine, for example, that a party would obtain 75 percent of the votes in an entire district, and the voters have the right to be represented by those who obtained this percentage, so why should we turn around and link it to the number of votes in the republic, though the voters in that district do not have any relationship to the other districts in Egypt? This way of thinking would be sound and acceptable if the party lists were basically filed all over the republic. When, however, the filing is by district, it is not permissible to turn around and link it to the whole republic. On the issue of popular support, the answer is that we are defending proper constitutional conditions, and, perhaps as a result of a single party's dominance of government for 30 years, (not to speak of the fact that we are now under a quasi-single party headed by the president which contains ministers and governors), I can say that perhaps the opposition party may not have among the masses, under the influence of these pressures, in a given area or number of areas, so why should we keep it from being represented in the district which supports its program? And how can we take our message everywhere, when we are working with an ineffective method that is more than 50 years old, and when we are compelled to hold dozens of small conferences for 100 or 200 citizens, because the opposition benefits from any location from which it can reach the citizens? We are faced with a monumental task. When we ask for an opportunity to appeal on TV, because it is more beneficial than a thousand conferences, we are met with ridicule about the request as if the political leaders want to become stars."

The Issue of Free Elections

The chairman of the Grouping Party replied, "The basic issue is not in the 8 percent ratio; rather, it is an issue of holding free elections in which you can get close to power and offer the people a sound opportunity to express their opinions. One of the most important guarantees is that the elections

be held by personal identity card that the voter sign or make a mark by his name, and that the number on his card be recorded, to prevent empty spaces which do not have voters from being filled up. On top of this, there is the need to raise the punishment for fraud to hard labor, so public officials will be aware of its serious nature. The issue whether our party will enter the next elections has not been decided yet; I can say that if the election conditions remain as they are, we will not enter the elections."

The chairman of the Liberal Party replied, "The stipulation of the 8 percent ratio is unquestionably a difficult one, because we cannot enter elections in every governorate. We tried that in 12 governorates in the Consultative Assembly elections, and we got 2.5 percent of the vote. How can we ask for the 8 percent when we are prevented from having conferences, except within the walls of the party headquarters, and do not have daily papers? We cannot get in contact with the broad masses through television in any way in order to carry on a dialogue with them which ought to deal with their problems on a daily basis and, alongside those, the programs which the parties propound in order to solve them."

/We asked/ "Isn't it in the interests of the masses as a whole quickly to abort to the abyss of violence and terror--a policy the opposition statements condemn with the demand that the emergency law be abrogated, in spite of the fact, which experience in applying it for 2 years has confirmed, that it has been used only to cope with cases of terror, in a manner which corresponds to other similar indeed more stringent laws in countries which have been familiar with the most deep-rooted democracy, such as Britain, which is now applying a law whose goal is to fight terror?"

In his defense of the opposition demand, Mustafa Kamil Murad wondered, "What can guarantee us that the government will not at any time resort to the use of the emergency law in cases other than this? Wouldn't it be more proper for us to go back to normal, constitutional conditions? Even Poland, in spite of all the political vexations and problems it is suffering from, has abrogated martial law, and conditions in Egypt are stable, praise be to God. Why can't we give the freedom to establish parties and issue newspapers and follow up on and hold people to account through the laws the constitution approves? The parties' current mediocre resources in getting in contact with the base, because of the ruling party's practices and the resources of the Socialist Union it has taken over, are one of the reasons for the emergence of extremist groups. However, holding extremists to account by law will never bring about what they call a quick abortion."

Many people wonder what led to the creation of the Committee for the Defense of Democracy. The chairman of the Liberal Party replied in this manner: "Democracy, apart from programs or policies--I was one of the revolutionaries who launched the revolution with 'Abd-al-Nasir. They corrected the revolution under al-Sadat, and all my party, along with the other opposition parties, wants now is for normal and constitutional conditions to return to Egypt."

The chairman of the Labor Party replied, "The proverb says, 'What threw you against the man? He replied, the orders were from him.' I have no explanation other than that."

The chairman of the Grouping Party replied, "Doesn't Egypt deserve to have all forces join together for the sake of its primary, just cause, democracy?

/We asked/ "Is it possible that these positions within the Egyptian opposition might increase in the near future, to the point where it will form "shadow cabinets?""

Ibrahim Shukri declared, "To a political party which presents itself to the masses through a specific program for serving the people, the formation of a shadow cabinet must be relevant. At the first party conference, we reviewed specific policies, and in the next conference, on 23 and 24 November, we will review papers related to some new points. After the stage of policies there will of necessity come a stage of personalities who will assume responsibilities. The shadow cabinet will be based on them, although what concerns us at present for the most part is that a climate arise where there will be opportunities for everyone to express opinions, at which time the whole stage will not belong to the National Party."

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din declared, "Although neither the Communist nor the Socialist Party in Italy, for example, has a shadow cabinet, and although the opposition in most countries of the world has no shadow cabinets, except for Britain, where the Laborites and the Conservatives exchange governments, the idea has been relevant to our party in the last 3 years. We have a good nucleus for a shadow cabinet. Every party in the world distributes responsibilities among its leaders. We have personnel of the highest caliber in our midst in the Grouping Party. We have an economic group that contains 12 specialized economists who are among the strongest economists in Egypt, headed by Dr Isma'il Sabri 'Abdallah. We have 'Abd-al-'Azim Anis, who leads the Education Section, we have the Foreign and Arab Relations Committee, offices for workers and professionals, and the top expert on housing in Egypt, Dr Milad Hanna, who recently presented a recommendation which was adopted in the Housing Committee, and we have copious studies on peasants and the Egyptian rural areas, committees on religious and social affairs, and a women's federation.

"This means that the Grouping Party, with the membership of the greatest number of personnel who are able to set out policies and solutions to issues, and to evaluate countervailing policies carried out by the ruling party--this is a very good nucleus for the formation of a shadow cabinet, but our struggle now, ahead of that, is to guarantee that free elections to the next People's Assembly are held."

The Idea Has Been Discussed Since 1976

Mustafa Murad declared, "The idea has been discussed in the Liberal Party since 1976, and the party was the first to call for it. At present, we

are in the process of forming a cabinet, but this process will take some time, in order for the necessary personnel to become fully provided. At the present time, there actually are leaders of the highest caliber of expertise in the areas of agriculture, economics, trade, finance, industry and education, but some time must pass in order to come up with the necessary remaining personnel for forming a shadow government. That is something that strong parties can engage in."

11887
CSO: 4504/64

VOTER ATTITUDES, TENDENCIES IN AL-MINYA REVIEWED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2890, 31 Oct 83 pp 26-29, 51

[Article by 'Isam 'Abd-al-'Aziz: "In Al-Minya the Elections Are Heated and the Streets Are Quiet!"]

[Text] The wheels of the elections are turning. The elections to the Consultative Assembly have ended, as have the elections to the union committees, and it is now the turn of the local assembly elections.

We went to al-Minya. We chose the hard road, and decided that the talk should be stripped of everything but the truth. We recorded a picture of full dimensions. We conveyed it from the stone benches in the villages and the coffee houses in the public squares, from the insides of offices, among officials, and from the midst of the fields and alongside the waterwheels with the peasants.

Before a battery-operated casette recorder hanging from the trunk of a tree alongside one of the waterwheels irrigating farmland, we sat with some farmers, recording their views and opinions.

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qadir Idris, a farmer:

"All our lives we have realized that elections are good, but this business about the lists is not understood. Someone told me that they are by appointment, that is, that the people in the government enter the elections separately and win by acclaim. That is, there are no elections."

Another farmer, by name of Khalil 'Abd-al-Jabir, said,

"These elections are supposed to be held so that we can choose people who speak for the people, but in the elections to the people's assemblies when people win in the elections by acclaim, and the people do not choose them, who exactly then are the people who win speaking for?

"I don't understand how this process works!"

A third farmer, name of 'Atiyah 'Abd-al-Qadir, said:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and role of supervising the activity of the executive agencies in the governorate, in order not to clash with these agencies. Thus they realize numerous benefits for themselves. Among the members of the people's assembly are ordinary employees who have realized gains in their jobs for themselves, and others who have realized personal benefits.

In this form of mutual benefits, a communality of interests has arisen between the members of the people's assembly and the executive agencies in the governorate of al-Minya. Therefore, absolute lists were the most suitable election method in keeping with this pattern of interests which makes up the local assembly.

The People's Assembly Only!

[Question] Notwithstanding our extreme respect for all "progressive" views, what, frankly, is the real magnitude of the leftist presence in al-Minya? This is because there are people who classify the Grouping Party as a party which is isolated from the masses, and state that the failure to enter the local people's assembly elections in al-Minya was proof in practice that the party in al-Minya has only a small headquarters, a sign bearing its name, and a very limited number of members!

After a long, argumentative discussion, Dr Ibrahim Abu 'Awf admitted the following:

He said, "The Grouping Party does not enjoy popularity in the Governorate of al-Minya, because the farmers represent the overwhelming majority of the population and they are totally subject to the religious figures, who characterize the left as apostasy and atheism."

He said, "The Grouping Party does not have the ability to enter a number of election campaigns all in one sequence -- the Consultative Assembly, the labor unions and the local people's assemblies -- because it is trying to gather together all its forces and concentrate them on a single election

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"In the past, elections were held in accordance with the system of free direct individual election, that is, any citizen who met some conditions, including proficiency in reading and writing, not being less than 25, being registered in the election rolls, and having a record that was free of previous acts which were deleterious to honor, any citizen who met these conditions could run in the elections, regardless of his party affiliation.

"It was the custom in al-Minya Governorate that every candidate would depend in his election campaign on his family and people first of all, then would try to strengthen his relations with the small families, in order to win them over to his side, and would also try to win the approval of the big families, so that he would not clash with their candidates.

"However, this system has disappeared, and the people who want to run as candidates cannot submit applications for candidacy as individuals. Indeed, it now is the new system that each party will take a list containing the names of its candidates to the office receiving applications for candidacy to the people's assemblies.

"The election campaign depended on the man in the street, but has now moved into the parties, which determine candidates by party lists.

"Each candidate presents his party with an application for candidacy. The higher political leaders in each party determine the names the party list will contain.

"There are no negative features in filling the local council; if there are, we wish that our people, the people of al-Minya, would tell us about them.

"Elections by absolute lists are a system which the law stipulates, and we are people who respect the law.

"The flaws in direct free elections are numerous. The most serious of them is that groups might promote personnel who might not be appropriate. The party lists are better, because they limit the influence of these groups.

"We had hoped that the opposition parties would enter the elections to the people's assemblies, because competition among the parties would bring out the best personnel. Unfortunately, however, the opposition parties do not have a base or a real, effective prsence in the Governorate of al-Minya.

"The accusation that the local people's assembly members are trying to realize their personal interests is a vain one and is not based on proof. They are all rumors which biased persons are circulating, and we are not affected by them.

"It is not true that the National Party candidates will obtain seats in the local people's assembly without exerting the least effort in the elections,

[illegible] of the National Party candidates [illegible] from elections in the previous months and [illegible] in [illegible].

The selection of candidates in party lists can [illegible] the support of a committee made up of National Party political leaders at the highest level in al-Muqattam headquarters, and that is said to the effect that this committee chose personally who were loyal to the regime is not true.

"The number of candidates on the National Party lists will go to the party staff, not to the political leaders, and the candidates will not be alienated from the man in the street, because the provision of services to the people will be done through the party and consequently the people's connection with the party that serves them will be stronger."

A Blatant Error!

In the first floor of the National Party building, we sat with Ahmad Abu Sayyah, the secretary of the political organization in the party, who said,

"The constitution emphasizes that the establishment of democracy will come about through the establishment of parties. We believe in the political practices which will serve Egypt first of all!

"I had imagined that the various parties would enter the elections to the people's assmeblies with numerous programs and that each of them would try to impart an iota of credit to Egypt or deal with one of the complex problems of our country.

"However, I have heard that the opposition parties have refused to enter the Consultative Assembly and [local] people's assembly election campaigns because they are preparing to enter the elections to the People's Assembly. This, in my notion, is a blatant error, because there are 4,200 villages in Egypt, in addition to the ports and towns, and if the opposition parties spread out among these locations, with aware programs that address the conscience of the people and deal with their issues in a positive manner, that will deepen these parties' foundations on Egyptian soil through their treatment of the problems.

"However, to think about the People's Assembly at this stage will cause these parties to lose their ability to form solidarity with the man in the street in the villages, ports and towns.

"Therefore the opposition parties ought to have entered the elections to the local people's assemblies, no matter how difficult these elections might have been.

"All of us, the National Party and the opposition parties, are Egyptians. We want to respect Egypt, develop the Egyptian village, eradicate illiteracy and raise the standard of living.

"I invite the opposition parties to review the formula through which they engage in their political activity. They must strive to serve Egypt and be in solidarity with the man in the street through serious programs.

[illegible] the nomination periods on the general lists of local candidates for elections to the local people's assemblies on 3 December, the winners of the National Party's candidates by acclamation will be declared, without the holding of elections. We in the National Party have seriously sought to choose the fittest personnel to represent the party in the local people's assemblies, in accordance with criteria we have set forth, which are embodied in chastity, purity, popularity and competence.

"The political leaders in al-Minya are human beings. They might be right and they might be wrong. They might also be drawn by whims. Therefore, I wish success for the activity in the people's assemblies in the coming session."

The streets of al-Minya are quiet. The man on the street might not express an obvious interest in what is going on in the local people's assembly elections. However, in reality, he harbors an unusual interest.

It is true that the National Party lists might win by acclamation, and it is also true that the man in the street might not participate in choosing his representatives to the people's assemblies, but none of this will prevent the man on the street from following up on what is going on around him with extreme interest, now that he has assumed another role, which is embodied in solving his everyday problems in his own way, while waiting to learn the results.

11887
CSO: 4504/88

GOVERNMENT'S CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 15 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "Perspectives on Freedom and Democracy in the President's Address"]

[Text] At the opening of the new session of the People's Assembly, the assembly's last joint session with the Shura Council, President Husni Mubarak announced matters that officials must be aware of in exercising their authorities. Among those matters that the president announced, the president said, "Constructive criticism or the purposeful treatment of matters does not annoy us. We are all partners in the homeland: no individual in particular has a monopoly over allegiance, and no group in particular claims that it [alone] is loyal to the country. The homeland is for all: the government, the opposition, the leaders and the masses."

Hence we are amazed by those executives who discriminate between supporters [of the government] from the ruling party and those who oppose [the government] from other parties. They think they are gaining the good will of top leaders when they are [in fact] embarrassing them and depicting the president's words as though they were slogans verbalized merely for their sound, even as actions were being taken on another course. Let us cite as an example of this what happened to the journalist, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Quddus who was denied his supervisory role over the religious section of AKHBAR AL-YAWM, which is one of the so-called national newspapers, because he refused to stop writing for opposition newspapers. Other journalists who write for these newspapers, however, are allowed to write in the newspapers of the ruling party. We have been missing the words of the journalist, Jalal 'Arif in AKHBAR AL-YAWM's "Al-Ra'y wa al-Ra'y al-Aakhar" [Point Counterpoint] because there are tendencies opposed to what he writes. A fellow journalist who is editor-in-chief of a magazine published by the National Democratic Party was charged with the task of supervising that section which Jalal 'Arif had supervised. Is this consistent with what President Mubarak is calling for? [The president stated], "There shall be no discrimination between one citizen and another, and there shall be no distinction between a supporter of the government and one who is opposed to it."

Citizens liked this statement that the president made: "The real power of any political regime is not to be measured by the number of prisons that regime operates or the number of people it holds in detention centers. The real power of any regime lies in the liberties it affords [citizens] and the guarantees it provides individuals under the protection of the law."

I am therefore surprised by the fact that al-Qal'ah Prison, which is a prison that is not within the legally recognized prison system, is still functioning and receiving detainees who are held in conditions that are unsanitary and inhumane. At one time it was announced that al-Qal'ah Prison would be closed permanently. I am also surprised by the fact that some of those who had been arrested are still in custody even though a court order for their release has been issued and no declared warrant for their arrest was issued.

I am surprised by the fact that the government and the legislative authority are refusing to affirm guarantees for individuals who exercise [their] political rights, when President Mubarak is announcing that the power of any regime lies in its involvement in honest elections and in [the efforts it makes] to preserve the free will of the people by provisions included in one of the laws that are in effect. Was this speech addressed to the government and the legislative authority as it was addressed to the rest of the agencies, organizations and citizens? Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, president of the Labor Party and leader of the opposition came forward once again, offering these guarantees to amend the forementioned law. These are the guarantees that are being called for by all those who want to take part in the next People's Assembly elections. Does the People's Assembly in its last session and with the majority it has intend to endorse these guarantees to go along with what President Mubarak is calling for?

With regard to the point that the president raised about the Emergency Law, it must first be said that the distinction between declaring or extending the state of emergency and applying the Emergency Law is inappropriate because these are two matters that are inseparably related. The Emergency Law may not be applied unless a state of emergency has been declared. Also declaring a state of emergency or extending that state of emergency would get the Emergency Law out of mothballs and activate it.

If President Mubarak is wondering why objections are being made to the declaration of a state of emergency and the application of the Emergency Law if the application of that law remains restricted to cases of armed terrorism, we in turn wonder why this was not clearly spelled out in the decree that was issued regarding the state of emergency? If this had been spelled out, the Emergency Law would not be extended for one reason or another and applied to cases other than those of armed terrorism. In an article published in AL-SHA'B, number 200, which came out on 11 October 1983, I had cited a few cases where the Emergency Law was being applied. In no way can these cases be listed as cases of armed terrorism.

Although this article was published more than 1 month ago, no official agency has issued a response to that article or a refutation of what was in it. In fact, it seems that President Mubarak did not see the article. Had the president seen the article, he would have found in it the reason for the apprehension that exists from having the state of emergency extended and the Emergency Law applied without the clear stipulation that said application be restricted to cases of armed terrorism.

President Mubarak praised the freedom of the press in Egypt in the sense that there was no interference with the criticism that is published by opposition party newspapers. In fact, there is no interference with some aspects of criticism and opposition which are published in the so-called national newspapers by

some writers who write for those newspapers. The president regarded that as a badge of distinction for the political regime in Egypt. This is a statement worthy of note and appreciation, even though it definitely falls short of reconsidering [such matters as] the established rules for owning and managing the so-called national newspapers; the method of appointing the presidents of these newspapers' boards of directors and editors-in-chief; [the practice of] barring some writers and journalists from writing in some of these newspapers; and [the effort to] find a remedy for the harassments that some opposition party newspapers encounter in printing, in circulation and in obtaining advertisements.

In general also, freedom of the press requires that the Press Authority Law be repealed. That law imposes restrictions on the publication of newspapers and sets up a system to which practicing professional journalists are entrusted, despite the existence of a press union and despite the legal provisions that set limits on permissible criticism.

Democracy Is a System of Government and not Freedom of Speech!

Although the freedom to express another opinion is one of those freedoms that must be respected, that freedom alone is not enough to make one say that democracy has been achieved. Therefore, President Mubarak's response to a question that was addressed to him in the course of an interview with AL-TADAMUN Magazine caught my attention. President Mubarak's interview in AL-TADAMUN Magazine, which is published in Arabic in London, was printed in Egyptian daily newspapers on 5 November 1983. AL-TADAMUN's editor-in-chief had asked President Mubarak [this question]: "Can the President tell us how he defines his understanding of democracy?"

His excellency replied, "Democracy, as I see it, involves the multiplicity of opinions, the multiplicity of parties and the freedom of expressing one's opinion under the protection of the rule of law."

This definition undoubtedly lacks the addition of the [notion] that parties have a right to become involved in public elections that are free and honest. In such elections the party that wins a majority assumes power. Thus parties can succeed each other in power, competing with each other to serve the people.

Liberties are among those pillars that support democracy, but they do not constitute democracy. Democracy is derived from two old Greek words [demos and krateein] which mean "government of the people." Unless this freedom is used so that people can express their wishes and vote to elect a government that represents them and expresses their wishes, we will not have achieved the state of having a government of the people; by the people, that is, by representatives of the people; and for the people, that is, [a government that acts] in the interests of the people.

Hence, the Liberties Defense Committee is a committee of attorneys who undertake to defend citizens whose constitutionally guaranteed liberties are violated. This is one of the missions of the legal profession.

The defense of democracy, however, is a political question. It is an act intended to provide a climate that is appropriate for conducting free and neutral

elections. In such elections citizens who are entitled to vote can express their wishes and choose their representatives and those who would defend their interests.

The Committee for Defending Democracy Is Necessary

Accordingly, forming a committee to defend democracy in Egypt and oppose the new law enacted by the present government for conducting the coming elections [is necessary]. This committee will point out the shortcomings of those laws; it will call for amendments to those laws; and it will call for the addition of guarantees that are necessary to ensure that the elections will be free, in keeping with what the constitution decrees. The constitution stipulates that elections are to take place under the actual and total supervision of the judicial authority. That supervision is not to be formal and superficial. The constitution stipulates that such supervision is legitimate and even desirable. It is the duty of every citizen who has an opinion which he considers useful in this regard [to come forward]. This supervision is quite different from the work that is being done by committees that defend liberties.

What President Mubarak was calling for in his address about the coming elections to the two [elected] bodies can be achieved by the presence of such a committee for defending democracy, by having that committee become engaged in a dialogue with the government and with the ruling party and then by listening to what both parties have to say in the deliberations that are conducted by the head of state. President Mubarak had said that these coming elections constituted an opportunity in which all of us, the people and the opposition, can prove that we have made considerable progress towards achieving a sound democracy in which partisan tendencies, narrow views on matters and self-centered views of where interests lie would disappear from sight in one of the most serious and most important stages of our recent history.

The regime is thought to have earned another badge of distinction for establishing a democratic government by becoming engaged in this dialogue--without closing its ears and allowing the dialogue to turn into a conversation between two deaf people; by the fact that political leaders are convinced of the more proper course; and by the effort that is being made to correct the course to a democratic government. This badge of distinction is besides that which the regime earned for the freedom of speech in partisan newspapers.

Both Parties Are Asked To Adhere to Law

It is indisputable that all this must take place within the boundaries of the law. This means that constitutional laws are not to be violated. It means that there is no need to hint that these laws must be adhered to. But as long as we are on the subject of law, it is necessary for the government also to adhere to the boundaries of the law. Government must respect the provisions of the constitution; it must respect human rights and the law. Therefore, we are entitled to ask, "Have those who violated the constitution by issuing an unconstitutional law that dissolved the duly elected board of directors of the bar association been called to account?" Those people had presented that law to the president so he would issue it. Then the Supreme Constitutional Court ruled that the law was unconstitutional.

8592
CSO: 4504/101

IMPACT OF ECONOMIC POLICIES ON VILLAGE LIFE EXAMINED

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 9 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Hasan Badawi: "This Is What Years of Open-Door Economy Have Done to Egyptian Village; Cultivable Land Has Diminished, Boutiques Have Spread and Money Merchants Are Coming; Cabaret Songs Are Heard From Cassettes Whereas Folk Songs Have Become History"]

[Text] What have the years of open-door economy done to the Egyptian village? How has the Egyptian farmer been influenced by the dreams of emigration in his endeavor to escape the burden of poverty?

Is the Egyptian farmer still that model shown to us in the film "The Earth," a farmer who dies rather than give up his land and who feels naked, disgraced and terrified if he is forced to leave the land? What are the features of the change, and are they for the better or the worse?

All these questions and others can be answered only by the Egyptian village itself and by the Egyptian farmer.

East and West

The village of Zunnarah is a village of the eastern section of Tala District, which includes 18 villages, the same as the western section, which also includes 18 villages.

The eastern section is the poor half of the district. Wealth and power are centered in the other half, which is located west of the town of Tala and is monopolized by the al-Ghaffariyah and Burayqi' families, who often produce the Two-People's Assembly members [for the district] and the Ghazi, Bilal and Abu Husayn families.

The village of Zunnarah is 86 kilometers from Cairo and is separated from al-Gharbiyah by the villages of Babil and Kafr Hamam. From the west, it joins the town of Tala and Kafr Qarshum; from the south, Kafr al-Sukkariyah; and from the east, Janzur village. The village is located on the agricultural road linking Shabin al-Kawm with Tanta.

There are nearly 30,000 permanent residents in the village, including about 10,000 men and women capable of working, in addition to those living outside

the village. More than 1,000 of the village inhabitants work abroad, most of them craftsmen: carpenters, reinforced concrete construction workers, machinists, drivers, graduates of agricultural and industrial institutes and owners of small agricultural holdings. Most of these people live in Iraq and Jordan.

The area of the entire village amounts to 1,574 feddans, of which 1,386 are cultivated. The rest is used for buildings, roads, drains and canals. There are in the village 1,900 buildings (houses, public buildings, shops and others) and 1,372 landowners. This is why the holdings are very small, ranging from 2 qirats to 10 feddans.

Population density in the village has risen to the point where a family comprised 50 members living in one house. This family owns 10 feddans of land.

10 Years of Open-Door Economy

The latest statistics on cultivable land in the village, compiled by the village agricultural cooperative last October, show that this land has diminished by 17 percent over the past 8 years (1975-83) as a result of the use of part of the land for the construction of buildings. This is why we find that accesses to the village from all four sides run for a mile through the cultivable lands.

The village inhabitants working abroad return every year or two with dreams of having equipment (telephones, cassette players, house appliances and other items) building a red brick house instead of a mud house and then opening a boutique. Thus, the number of producers is declining gradually in favor of an increase in the number of merchants. The number of farmers is also declining, and the money supply in the village is growing when there is a scarcity of locally manufactured products and an increase in imported products, thus causing the prices to rise.

Tenant farmers are almost nonexistent. Of the village's entire holdings, only 200 feddans are leased. The leasing is done for cash, meaning that the farmer pays 70 pounds in rent for each feddan leased.

One of the signs of the open-door economy in the village in the past few years is the transformation of the village's main coffee shop, located in the main square on the agricultural road, into the International Trading Company, which is owned by the sons of 'Azzuz, one of the prominent merchants on al-Bahr Street in Tanta.

The company sells home appliances and equipment (mostly imported) and cassette tapes (some of which were seized last month). The farmers were told that they were tapes of Umm Kalthum [a popular singer who died in the late 1970's]. The company sells to the farmers on installments.

Another sign of the open-door economy is the fact that the money-changing trade has reached the village. The exchange of money brought in by emigrants working abroad has moved from the airport to the village of Zunnarah. In the past few years, three boutiques have been opened in the village. The shelves of the

20 grocery shops (excluding vendors who sell door-to-door)m abound with imported goods, beginning with tomato sauce and salmon and ending with eggs, cheese and cooking fat.

In recent years, nearly 90 percent of the village inhabitants have acquired televesion sets (black and white). There are in the village about 200 color TV sets, 5 video sets and nearly 100 telephones.

Projects Prior to Open-Door Economy

In the early 1970's, a traveler on the agricultural road identified the village by the elementary school at the village entrance and then by the agricultural cooperative buildings, the health unit and the fodder plant located at the end of the village and adjacent to the drinking-water reservoir. Across from the reservoir are Martyr 'Abd al-Mun'im Riyad Preparatory School and the flour mill.

The fodder plant was built in 1958 as a private sector project and was nationalized on 21 July 1967, when control of it was turned over to the Tanta Oils and Soap Company.

The village loan and credit bank used to distribute the necessities for production (seeds, fertilizer and pesticides) to the farmers in return for a small commission. The name of this bank is now the Development and Credit Bank and it advances investment loans at an interest rate of 9 percent.

In the 1960's, there were in the village 4 shoe shops, 2 carpentry shops, a post office, a public phone booth, 8 funeral homes for Muslims, 1 funeral home for Christians and 6 mosques.

Mad Prices

The villagers recall with nostalgia those days when they could buy a duck for 1 pound from the weekly Saturday or Tuesday market. This was in the late 1960's and early 1970's. They could also get fresh vegetables and fruit, local cooking fat, cheese and other goods.

They compare those prices with today's when the price of a pair of shoes has risen to 10 pounds and a pair of boots to 20 pounds. The ordinary pack of Super cigarettes is sold for 50 piasters, a kilogram of sugar for 50 piasters, a kilogram of oil for 60 piasters, a 40-gram pack of tea for 25 or 30 piasters and a kilogram of chichens for 180 piasters, even though three chicken farms have been set up in the village in the past few years.

Food Security

The agricultural cooperative premises is built on a two-feddan plot. Recently, an automobile body and engine repair shop (privately owned) was built on land that belongs to the Ministry of Agriculture, in addition to a building for a health unit and a food security booth owned by the Egyptian Fish Marketing Company. Between the car repair shop and the booth is a strip of land that has

turned muddy and is filled with dirt as a result of a broken waterline. There is also a consumer cooperative on the same plot.

The booth gets an average of a half a ton of fish daily, sardines only. A kilogram of this fish is sold for 35 piasters and this small quantity of fish is distributed to nearly 12 villages. This booth is one of four in Tanta, Tala, Shabin and Zunnarah. Moreover, the fish is delivered at 1600 and sold the following morning. The possibility of the fish turning bad is there because there is no refrigerator and the area surrounding the booth is dirty.

The village consumer cooperative sells only (essential goods), thus serving the role of a grocer supplying essential goods. As for the cooperative's share of fish, meat, chicken, cheese and other goods, the inhabitants know nothing about it. The consumer cooperative is also a part of the agricultural cooperative.

What is surprising is what happens in the village's sole bakery on which nearly 30 percent of the inhabitants rely. With the increasing number of employees and professionals and the decreasing number of people baking their bread at home, this bakery was built in the early 1970's and used to get 9 sacks of flour daily. The bakery used to operate from 1700 until the next morning, so that the bread was ready for sale before the employees and professionals (who are the population segment in the direst need of this bread) had to leave for work. Last year, Hamdi al-Hakim, governor of al-Minufiyah, issued a decision reducing the bakery to 6 sacks of flour daily. The governor also interfered to change the hours of operation to 0400-1000. The village inhabitants say that they cannot get bread by 0800.

What is also surprising is that meat has disappeared from the special cooperative of the (Education Department Employees). The cooperative used to sell a kilogram of meat at 300-330 piasters. But it recently stopped selling meat altogether. Is this due to an agreement with the village butchers, as some village residents say, keeping in mind that there is no slaughterhouse and that the slaughtering is done inside homes without any health supervision or certificate?

Moreover, there are no restaurants in the village. However, there are nearly 40 vendors who sell ful [boiled broad beans] and falafil [fried garbanzo and vegetable patties] at stands.

Dr Mas'ud

The inhabitants still remember Dr Mas'ud, the health unit doctor in the 1960's. He was the only doctor in the village at the time and his examinations were free of charge. Dr Mas'ud used to examine the farmers periodically, treat them for bilharzia and go to them in the fields and in their houses. At that time, there was no such thing as a "private examination."

Since 1972, examinations at the medical unit have been divided into two kinds: Examination for a ticket costing 5 piasters, with the patient given aspirin as a cure, regardless of his ailment, and a private examination, costing 50 piasters at the outset. But this cost has risen gradually to 130 piasters, and at times

even 2 pounds. Even though the medical unit is supplied with its share of drugs by the medical administration in Tala and even though these drugs are allocated for those treated for the 5-piaster ticket, they are only dispensed to those who pay the cost of a private examination.

In recent years, three doctors have opened offices in the village, in addition to the medical unit doctor. One of them is a dentist who has an office in the village. He charges 2 pounds for an examination, 5 pounds for an extraction and 10 pounds for a filling. As for the other two doctors, they charge 2 pounds for an examination at the office and 5 pounds for a house visit.

The village has no pharmacy. But there is one in the neighboring village of Babil. As for barbers engaging in medical practice, this phenomenon has disappeared and the barbers are content with [sentence incomplete]. As for midwives, there are only two of them who deliver most of the babies.

Village inhabitants say that vaccinations exist only on paper. Vaccination against "summer diseases"--the official name given to cholera--has been given to few people in the village.

Private Schools

When the 1960's ended, there were two elementary schools in the village. In 1972, the inhabitants founded a preparatory school through their own efforts and called it Martyr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Riyad School. Since then, no new classrooms have been built, even though two classrooms are about to collapse in one of the two elementary schools because of old age. These classrooms are not used at present and the students are squeezed into the other classrooms. Each classroom has 50-60 students; the number was 30-34 in the 1960's. There were also a number of Koran schools, of which only two remain, to teach the Koran, reading, writing and the principles of arithmetic.

In the preparatory school, which now operates in two shifts, the toliet facilities have been blocked for years. With the increasing number of students, 5,000 pounds was allocated to build two more classrooms on the second floor (even though the cost of building them does not exceed 3,000 pounds). Despite this, the classrooms are still without doors or windows. Nevertheless, the two classrooms are in use, even though the inhabitants don't know how they can be used with the approach of winter.

The strange phenomenon is that all students, from the first elementary class up to high school seniors, take private lessons. The minimal number of students taking private lessens with a single teacher is 100 (in two classes). All the teachers give private lessons and those students who do not take private lessons are doomed to failure. Even the students of agricultural and industrial schools take private lessons. The schools don't use the (study groups) system.

The price for private lessons for a sixth grader has reached 5 pounds monthly, whereas it ranged from 2-5 pounds in recent years. In the preparatory stage, the student pays 7 pounds monthly for English, 10 pounds for mathematics and

an average of 5 pounds for other subjects. A high school students pays 1 pound per session (1 hour) for English, 1.5 pounds for mathematics and 1 pound per session for other subjects.

Water, Pools and Sewers

Clean drinking water came to Zunnarah in the mid-1960's. But the village has no sewers yet and this forces the villages to dump their waste in the village. Ten years ago, only one employee was working in the water reservoir and the water was clean and flowed without interruption. But despite the many employees now working in the reservoir, its water is more like stagnant water and is covered by moss and the villagers complain of the interrupted water supply, even to the sole baker in the village.

There was a hydrant next to a carpentry shop in the eastern part of the village. But this hydrant has been covered with earth. Even though electricity came to the village in the mid-1970's and light poles were installed in the streets, the village is drowned in darkness after sundown because there are no light bulbs on the light poles, including the pole located in front of the cotton-gathering center where the bales are dumped in the open, and along with them all the efforts of the village farmers and their limited hopes for a little profit "to be used for school fees or for clothes for the children."

Center of Every Age

The village youth center, which is controlled by the Ministry of Youth and Sports, is managed by an executive board of eight members. It seems that the phenomenon of failing to attend meetings is not confined to the People's Assembly but exists in all councils controlled by official sources.

A member of the village handball team, which was recently runnerup in the governorate championship, said: Only two or three members attend meetings. The others have nothing to do with the center. One member went to Libya and returned to find that he had been reported as being present at all of the meetings. The center's athletic activity is mainly limited to soccer. As for cultural activity, it is confined to religious symposiums held once a week during the month of Ramadan, without being advertised. To put it briefly, this kind of cultural activity is dead. As for the youth center library, it is empty, except for books about President al-Sadat and his speeches. These books and speeches replaced those of the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir.

This center was founded in the 1960's and was then alive with athletic, cultural and art activities. Through the center, the village participated in art contests (folklore dancing, singing and plays) and cultural and athletic contests, not to mention the numerous and diverse cultural synposiums held at the center.

Marriage in Zunnarah begins these days with the customary engagement and the young man personally selects the girl he wants to marry instead of the old tradition [of having the bride chosen by the family].

In Zunnaran, the bridegroom pays a dowery of no less than 2,000 pounds in advance and 1,000 pounds in delayed payment. At times, agreement is reached on sharing the costs of the preparations and no cash transactions are involved.

Center of Power

In the 1960's, the center of power was limited to certain families. The Shihab family was the center of political power with its monopoly of the mayorship, the Hamad family was the richest family and enjoyed economic influence (even though agricultural holdings in the 1960's were limited and 10 feddans, the maximum holding permissible--this maximum is now 50 feddans in accordance with the latest agrarian reform law--were considered a valuable holding).

But now that the influence of the mayor has disappeared and the mayorship has been cancelled, with the village police station replacing the mayor, and now that any agricultural land holding, regardless of its size, has lost its value, the center of power has shifted to another family. The criterion has now become one of social and political influence and al-Sa'dani family enjoys more such influence than other families. This family includes among its members a former ambassador, a counselor, a police precinct commander, a group captain, a general financial and administrative inspector at the Education Department in Shabin al-Kawm, a former supply inspector who now owns a sanitary appliances company and the governorate's public relations director. The family also had two members in the district's local council during the preceding session--both from the National Party--in addition to a large number of doctors, teachers, lawyers and so forth.

Assigned state workers and hired farmers were the object of persecution and comprised the poorer segment in the village in the 1960's. But with the end of the presence of the assigned workers, which coincided with the end of the state role in land reclamation and relied on agricultural engineers, and with the absence of hired hands resulting from the emigration of workers and the shortage of labor, the object of this persecution has now become the workers and the employees, especially those who do not own any land and who depend on their wages to purchase everything, and the small farmers who rely on their few qirats of land. This situation has developed in the wake of the rapid growth of the village consumer patterns during the years of the open-door economy.

Boiled Newspapers

There is in the village one contractor who brings in weekly 10 copies of each of the opposition newspapers, which are sold immediately. A copy of AL-AHALI cannot be kept because it moves so rapidly from hand to hand. As for the official papers, especially MAYU, they are unsalable and the contractor is compelled, according to one of the citizens, "to leave them out in the sun and return them boiled!" Many of the village residents are demanding that their order of AL-AHALI be increased because they are compelled to go to Tala to buy the newspaper.

As for the partisan presence in the village, it is confined to a broad influence by the Grouping Party among most of the citizens and paper membership in the National Party by some citizens, especially those seeking to gain seats in village or local councils, to solve certain problems or to benefit from the services and other facilities.

Zunnarah, as well as the villages of the eastern section of the district, is well known historically for its leftist inclination. The reason for this is traced to the social and political influence of the pashas and of the wealthy over the western half of the district, their domination of the people's destiny there and their control of votes. The villages of Kamshish and Zunnarah in particular are considered the main source of confrontation against the influence of the pashas in the district capitals.

In the rigged elections of 1979, Zunnarah in its entirety supported Mustafa al-'Azab, the independent candidate, against al-Sayyid 'Abd-al-Ghaffar, the son of Ahmad Pasha 'Abd-al-Ghaffar and a relative through marriage of the late president [al-Sadat], despite all the propaganda and support given by the presidential establishment and all its members, including Martyr 'Ismat al-Sadat, to the Colonel (the nickname by which al-Sayyid 'Abd-al-Ghaffar is known in the district).

Zunnarah inhabitants collectively boycotted the past Consultative Council elections, even though the three [election] committees where located where people normally gather, namely, across from the agricultural cooperative, the bus station, the fodder plant and the bakery. The people stood watching the empty committee offices, and the National Party members were compelled to bring people from outside the village to fill the voting cards. One of those brought was Sayyid Jabir Mustafa (agricultural supervisor at Zunnarah cooperative), who is from al-Kawm al-Akhdar, Shabin al-Kawm District.

Differences erupted within the National Party when representation of the eastern half (18 villages) was disregarded in the party's list for the governorate people's council. When 'Antar Abu al-Naja, the National Party candidate from the adjacent village of Babil for the district's local council membership, protested the situation, his name was struck from the list.

Information Test

I asked one villager who had gone to work in Iraq for 2 years and who now works as a messenger and owns a television set:

What are the names of the Iraqi and Iranian leaders you know and who are the PLO leaders?

He answered: I know Saddam Husayn, the Iraqi Revolution Command Council chairman; 'Izzat Ibrahim, the vice president; Taha Yasin Ramadan, the first deputy prime minister; Tariz Hanna 'Aziz, the deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs; 'Adaan Khayrallah, the minister of defense; and 'Abd-al-Fattah Shalshal, the chief of staff. From Iran, I know Khomeyni; Rafsanjani, the

parliament speaker; Ali Khamenei, president of the republic; and Ali Akbar Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs. From the PLO, I know Yasir 'Arafat, Abu Iyad and Hani al-Hasan.

Did you read Iraqi newspapers?

I read AL-THAWRAH, AL-'IRAQ and ALIF BA' magazine, which is like our AL-MUSAWWAR.

What do you know about the main opposition leaders in Egypt?

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, NPUG chairman; Ibrahim Shukri, Labor Party chairman; Mustafa Kamil Murad, Liberal Party chairman; Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, al-Wafd chairman; and Kamal Ahmad, Nasirist Party chairman. I know nothing about the Ummah Party.

What do you know about what happened in Lebanon today (this was the day of the suicidal operation in which the U.S. and French command buildings were blown up)?

I learned from the television yesterday that the U.S. and French command buildings were hit and that the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs strongly condemned this action in Lebanon. During the denunciation, they said that this is the first major U.S. loss since the Vietnam War. Is this a loss? What about the loss incurred as a result of the Israeli invasion, which has amounted to 70,000 lives? Isn't this a loss? Are 120 Americans and 25 Frenchmen equal to the 2,000 people who died in Sabra and Shatila?

I asked another citizen, who works as a collector in the public transport facility who has not traveled outside Egypt and who also has a television set, the same question and he said:

In Iraq, I know Saddam Husayn and in Iran I know Khomeyni, the head of Iran; Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO chairman; Husni Mubarak, the National Party chairman; and Khalid Muhyi al-Din, Progressive National Grouping Party chairman. I don't know the names of the heads of the other parties or the name of al-Minufiyah governor.

I saw on television yesterday the attack against the U.S. and French buildings and heard the minister of foreign affairs denouncing the Lebanese for striking the foreigners who have come to their country.

Despite the presence of manifestation of civilization in Zunnarah, its heart is still the same: Mud houses, widespread bilharzia and a poor majority, which belongs to the eastern half and which knows perfectly well the story of Salah Husaynm the martyred son of Kamshish, who fell in the poor peasants' battle against feudalism. They sing his praises and sing for him:

Peace, O Salah, rest in peace. Look and see and you will find that your green stick has turned into a carnation.

8494
CSO: 4504/71

PROSECUTION OF CONSTRUCTION LAW VIOLATORS URGED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 8 Nov 83 p 15

[Article by Eng Muhammad Hasan Durrah: "To Safeguard Prestige of Law and Government, Urgent Trial Required for These Tamperers"]

[Text] We are not demanding that gallows be erected to take revenge on these saboteurs. There is no vendetta and no hostility between us and certain individuals. But we are defending a cause and a principle we have all accepted and supported in the interest of our country and the interest of all of us. The cause is the cause of observing the law and of establishing absolute justice and equality among all the people. The principle is the principle of the supremacy of the law in word, in deed and in application--a frank, sincere and honest supremacy of the law, free from circumvention, from evasion, from the tricks of middlemen seeking loopholes, from merchants of lawsuits and from the practitioners of procrastination and delay in the judiciary system. We demand a justice that gives man his right without delay or procrastination and we reject a justice that rides on the back of a tortoise. Slow justice means quick injustice.

Our country can no longer abide lengthy debate or patient discussion over the implementation of an explicit law that is free of ambiguities and interpretation. Supremacy of the law is our objective, and we respect the inviolability and independence of the judiciary. But we do not want the judiciary to become a sphere for give and take, desperate defense and lengthy debates on issues determined and settled by the law and issues that are open to immediate implementation and execution.

Law No 106 of 1976 was ruined by the judiciary committees entrusted with issuing sentences on the violations. The law stipulates that a decision be issued by the petitions committee within 17 days from the time a case is referred to the committee. But sometimes 2 years would pass without the committee meeting or making a decision. The same goes for the appeals committee. The law stipulates that a decision be issued by this committee within a period of 62 days from the time a case is referred to the petitions committee, whereas 4 or 5 years would pass without the committee meeting or issuing a decision. This fact enabled landlords to build tens of floors in violation of the law. What is more, some of those floors collapsed before the date set for examination of the violation.

The new law, law No 30 of 1983, closes this gap and stipulates the immediate elimination of violations indisputably and openly breaching the law, namely:

1. Buildings posing a danger to lives or property.

2. Violation of plans by the landlord.

3. Violations of elevations in excess of levels set by the law.

4. Violations pertaining to the use of parking facilities for other purposes.

In these cases, the matter must be referred to the governor concerned so that he can personally issue the order for removal or correction without the need for presenting the case to a judiciary committee. This is in accordance with article 16 of the same law. Article 3 of the law states that a compromise may be reached with those committing ordinary violations, except for the above-mentioned four cases, where a compromise is impermissible and where the violation must be eliminated.

Proceeding on this basis, the governors moved to issue decisions to demolish upper floors exceeding the maximum elevation stipulated by the law. A decision was issued by a higher technical commission stating that these extra floors pose a threat to lives and property in accordance with the clear and unambiguous provisions of the law. But the thing that perplexes us and that we cannot imagine or accept is that the governors' decisions are still mere ink on paper due to the indefinite suspension of the decisions to eliminate the violations. Some contravening landlords have had decisions issued by the courts to suspend implementation after undertaking written commitments to eliminate the violations on their own within a set period. There are numerous other examples where implementation of the law has been suspended, thus frustrating the resolution oand enthusiasm of the governors and putting them in an extremely embarrassing position.

Contradiction Between Words and Deeds

So, there are things we do not understand, or there are powers above the law.

To say what we do not do and to do what we do not say is the real tragedy.

If we cast our minds back a bit and review the events of the past 2 years, we find this enormous deluge of daily statements and headlines with which the national papers confront us from time to time about imaginary accomplishments said to have been achieved or about to be achieved and which make the masses imagine that the world will change and the situation will improve. The press then storms into our daily hardship and difficulties with black headlines that are very much like sedatives--headlines such as "Council of Ministers issues decrees to end laxity and to launch serious action," as if our previous action was not serious or perhaps this is an implicit admission that our previous action comprised mere slogans devoid of seriousness and commitment. There were also slogans such as "War against laxity begins today." It is as if we were in a peace treaty with laxity unwittingly. Another headline was

"Firm leaders in every position." It is as if by a magic power and out of the blue, these leaders had dropped on us from heaven. Other headlines were "The age of laxity has ended and courageous confrontation of all manifestations of laxity that have infiltrated our life." This is a small sample out of a horde of statements and headlines we see daily and that accuse us, before drugging us, of negligence, laxity, indecision and remoteness from seriousness and commitment. Innocently and with good will, the masses believe these big words and wait for a rosy age in which the earth and its people change--an age in which deviation, negativeness, negligence, laxity and indifference vanish and in which overindulgence in material things, cheating, hypocrisy, illicit aspirations and flagrant challenges and violations of the law end. The waiting goes on and on and none of these bright promises or broad statements are achieved. Rather, results contradicting all these promises, statements and decrees materialize and conditions worsen and deteriorate further. What is worse and more bitter, the citizens lose confidence in everything that is said and written. They lose confidence in everything. The phenomena engulfing them have not changed. Encroachment on state lands, properties and monies continues and has never ceased. Profiteering in subsidized essential goods, construction materials and other commodities persists and intensifies day after day. We are up to our ears in violations of the building, planning and housing law and their consequences are intensifying and are evident to all. The streets are drowned in lakes of sewage, pollution is high and is threatening people's health and lives, public buildings crack and collapse in rapid succession, claiming innocent and not-so-innocent lives as their victims, public opinion boils over and the media beat their drums. Under this raging popular pressure, the government succumbs and is compelled to present a new construction bill--the same scenario repeated frequently in previous stories--with the hope of putting an end to the chaos in the sphere of construction and of absorbing the wrath of the masses. His excellency the president of the republic issues his firm and serious recommendations on the need for the new construction law to be decisive in deterring the violators, in achieving the interest of the overwhelming majority of the people and in protecting the citizens' lives. His excellency further asserts that "if the law does not establish discipline in construction and if it does not ensure the citizens' safety, we will return it to the People's Assembly. If it is not firm and strict against violators, we will use our power to achieve this objective." Discussion of the bill begins in the People's Assembly committees with a demand for seizing buildings violating the state laws. There were other enthusiastic and heated proposals in the same vein. People with power and interest (band together) and under their pressure, the matter ends in a tattered law that is not much different from its predecessors and that fails to achieve the people's aspirations, as we noted at the time. Despite all this, law No 30 of 1983 is promulgated. We said: This is not bad but the only hope for implementing this law soundly lies in changing the climate of work and of execution. In fact, decisions were issued with utter courage by the governors at the outset to implement the law against the first batch of buildings violating the law so flagrantly that they leave no place for delay or interpretation. But the voice of falsehood rises with a raging storm of intimidation declaring that nobody will dare come close to the violating buildings to remove a single brick from them. The government retreats and weakens in the face of the

the threat of falsehood with its resounding voice. The government submits and succumbs to this insolent defiance and the governors wash their hands of any measure guaranteed by the law. So implementation comes to an immediate halt, and this new law, like its predecessors, falls into the bottom of a deep well. What a surprise! The farce of elevations and violations persists, even turns more rabid than before. Look around you to see its manifestations defying all the preceding and following building and planning laws in all quarters of Cairo and al-Jizah.

To tell the truth, the only hope left to me is to demand an immediate and speedy trial for these people who tamper with the law, who sabotage the country, who corrupt everything and who are in love with illicit profit and with greed--a fair trial in which right prevails and falsehood is defeated.

I repeat my appeal to Muhammad Husni Mubarak, his excellency the president of the republic, who has proven in only 2 years, his entire period in office, his concern and his care for his people's interests. We ask him to carry out what he said in his decisive statement, namely, "If the law is not firm and strict against violators, we will use all our powers to achieve this objective."

God be with him and our hearts surround him. God never fails any of His servants who honestly and sincerely seek His help to uphold what is right, to promote His word and to stifle the voice of those who corrupt the earth.

8494
CSO: 4504/72

GOVERNMENT RESTRICTION OF STUDENT ACTIVITIES CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 8 Nov 83 p 11

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qaddus: "Student Freedom Between Opposition and Government; Government Imposes Restrictions on Students and Opposition Considers Their Freedom Fundamental"]

[Text] Vigilant opposition is Egypt's future. There is no doubt that it is a turn for the better that the people aspire to--an alternative to the faltering and muddled policies of the National Party government.

A specific example confirms what we have said--the freedom of students at the university. The government exerts efforts to restrict the students; their thinking and intellect, their steps and movements. The opposition, on the other hand, wants to release the students and give them their freedom, their full freedom. With freedom, the student will belong to Egypt and love it. He will sacrifice his time and efforts for it. Egypt becomes the center of his interest and the student becomes a human being with a commitment and a complete personality. With restrictions, the student graduates from the university as an employee and as a selfish human being who thinks only of himself, has a weak personality and is hesitant and lazy. This is the difference between freedom and oppression.

University Has Become Big Prison

Come with me, let us tour the university to see the big difference between the opposition's thinking and the National Party government's thinking.

We note on approaching the university campus that the university has become a big prison. All the iron gates are closed and the university guards stand behind them. It is forbidden to enter the university without a university card. As a result, we find hundreds of students standing outside the university because they have not been fortunate enough to get the required identity card at the right time. Upon entering, there is nothing to prevent your being "humiliated" on the pretext of inspection.

Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, Labor Party secretary general, says that the opposition's viewpoint in this approach is in total conflict with the government's viewpoint. Our viewpoint is based on confidence in the students,

contrary to the National Party's viewpoint, which is based on fear and wariness toward the students. The difference in viewpoints clearly leads to a difference in behavior. The opposition's viewpoint, which is based on confidence in the students, is followed by respect for their liberties, the simplest of which is freedom to enter the university. The opposition believes that freedom to enter the university is fundamental. It demands that the university guard be abolished. It wants to remove the iron fences at the university's gates. All students should not be the object of suspicion until they prove their innocence. It is unreasonable and illogical to impose a siege on all students out of fear of a terroristic or trouble-making minority. The guarantee of student calm is not achieved by intimidating the students but from giving them their legitimate freedom. The guarantee comes from the presence of an Egyptian government that represents all of Egypt, works for the overwhelming majority and is not imposed on the people or working for a minority among them.

Student Union Massacre

Finally, we enter the university after experiencing a hardship and difficulty that did not exist until a few years ago. We notice immediately that every student is preoccupied with himself and is negative. It is from home to the lecture and home again. Often, it is also skipping the lectures to sit in the cafeteria or to wander aimlessly through the university. The reason for this negative attitude is clear and well known, namely, the student massacre, as it has been rightly described by Dr Hilmi Murad, which took place in 1979 when broad amendments were introduced into the student bylaws--amendments that deprived the students of many of the legitimate rights they had gained with their struggle, not to mention the technical restrictions those amendments imposed on the student movement.

Let us review these restrictions to see the vast difference between the painful reality under which we live because of the National Party government and the hope of the opposition for a better life free of restrictions and hindrances.

Dr Hilmi Murad says that the student bylaws contain restrictions that are dangerous to the student movement, the most significant being:

Abolition of the general federation of the republic's students as the epitome of the Egyptian student movement and the transfer of this federation's powers to the Universities Higher Council--a transfer that undermines Egypt's reputation in other countries that have student federations and organizations.

Abolition of the student union at the level of the individual university and its replacement by an administrative university apparatus that has been called the Council for the Coordination of Student Activities.

The student union at the university level has lost its role as a student organization. There are no more than 5 students in the 12-member union council. The other members comprise 5 professors, a college dean and the head of the college's or institute's youth welfare apparatus as secretary of the union fund.

The powers of these orphaned unions have become feeble. They are forbidden from rendering any student services, such as printing academic folders, advancing social aid or solving student problems.

The opposition demands that all these restrictions be abolished, that the general federation of the republic's students be restored, that the individual university unions be restored and that the student unions in each college regain their role as student organizations, with student elements predominating, and that these unions be given the requisite powers. Do you now see the vast difference between the opposition thinking and the ruling party thinking?

Our university tour continues. We also note that there is no intellectual activity whatsoever after the end of the lectures. It is forbidden. The bylaws state this frankly. The student unions have been banned from engaging in any factional, political or ideological activity.

When University Loses Its Freedom

Dr Ashraf al-Bayyumi, a science professor at Alexandria University, draws our attention to numerous important points:

The university is inseparable from society, meaning that if freedom prevails in the country then this freedom will also extend to the university. In a restricted society ruled by an emergency law and by martial laws and a society in which there is an arsenal of laws that restrict freedom in all its forms, there can never be freedom in the universities. Regrettably, this is the situation in our country. The opposition's struggle for the freedom of the university must focus primarily on the freedom of society as a whole.

When the university loses its freedom, capabilities disappear and are replaced primarily by loyalty. Look at the selection of university presidents, for example. The selection criteria are not the degree of high capability but rather the degree of loyalty to the National Party. This causes the universities to lose their independence and this loss is in open violation of the constitution, which guarantees the independence of the universities and of the scientific research institutes. Every university president, of course, must compete with others to display his loyalty to the party that has selected him. The president of a university thus engages in acts that are not at all compatible with his status. The Alexandria University president, for example, supported the ill-fated resolutions of September 1981 in a ludicrous manner and referred Dr Ashraf al-Bayyumi to an investigation committee because Dr al-Bayyumi dared to go to Lebanon within the delegation of the Egyptian national forces without asking for "his excellency the university president's" permission.

It is also forbidden to appoint any professor who does not adopt the state's thinking to prominent positions in the university. When the university loses its freedom, its distinctive role in serving society vanishes. This role has several characteristics that disappear altogether under the canopy of oppression. The university seeks to graduate a specialized individual

who belongs to his society, not just an employee holding a diploma. The university seeks to graduate an individual with a rounded personality who understands his society's problems. Universities in the free societies are points of contact between the foreign world and the rest of society. They sound the early alarm without fear, drawing attention to society's problems and exerting efforts to solve them. They are the vanguard of the forces struggling against any oppression or suppression. They do not live in an ivory tower but within the heart of society, interacting with society's various institutions. They are tantamount to the intellect in the body of the state. Under restrictions, the task of this intellect is obstructed.

Intelligence in Auditoriums

We continue our university tour. Come, let us enter a university auditorium to see how education is conducted there. We will find numerous negative aspects. There are large numbers of students exceeding the necessary limit. They have no opportunity to select the disciplines they want and their opportunity to engage in free dialogue with their professors is minimal.

What is surprising is that intelligence people are present in the auditoriums, spying on the professors. This is what Dr Ibrahim Saqr, a professor of international relations at the Economy and Political Science College, stressed to me, observing that he personally seized two intelligence officers in two separate incidents. In one incident, the informer [plainclothesman] exposed himself when he tried to leave the lecture without permission, having "gotten bored." Dr Ibrahim Saqr seized him and a scandal ensued. Dr Saqr said: "I do not approve of education in its present form. Education must be democratic from start to finish. Democracy must prevail from the time of entry into the university until final exams."

Democracy in education means, in Dr Ibrahim Saqr's view, several things. It is first of all, a part of democracy throughout the state. He asserts that education, especially in the theoretical disciplines, is not at all neutral. This is why the students must be trained in free thinking, dialogue and discussion. This training develops the students' personality and ties them to learning. It breathes life into the scientific disciplines and thus keeps them from being lifeless. There is no harm in disagreements in viewpoints and in seeing students make mistakes. Man learns from both mistakes and correct steps and his personality develops in this way. A professor must be democratic with the students and must permit them to argue and disagree with him.

Dr Ibrahim Saqr said: "Even though I am confident of myself and of my knowledge, I still benefit and learn from dialogue with my students." He stresses the importance of getting students used to reading and research. Education is not just instruction, and it is very important that the students be given the opportunity to select some disciplines that they wish to study, as happens in the advanced countries.

Finally, Dr Ibrahim Saqr stresses the importance of the freedom of students to engage in all activities and to discuss all national issues. This develops their sense of belonging to their country. Teaching this sense of belonging is not accomplished through national anthems and slogans but through action and participation in national issues.

8494
CSO: 4504/72

WATER PIPELINE DEAL SIGNED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 46, 14 Nov 83 p 10

[Text]

The Libyan government and South Korea's Donga business group have signed a $3.3 billion contract for the construction of two water pipelines with a combined length of 1,900 kilometres. Requiring an estimated 20 million tonnes of steel-concrete pipe, the pipelines will eventually bring some 4 million tonnes of water daily from the interior to agricultural and industrial centres on the coast. One will connect Tazerbo in the Libya desert with the coastal city of Bengazi, while the other will link Sarir, also inland, with Sirt.

It was announced earlier that Donga had won the deal, but the contract was actually signed in Tripoli last week (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, July 25). The work will be carried out by Donga Concrete Industrial, Donga Construction Industrial and Korea Express, all subsidiaries of the Donga group. In addition, Price Brothers of the US will provide technical assistance in producing the special cylindrical concrete pipes. Work, scheduled to start this year, is expected to take seven years to complete.

The contract, dubbed Libya's "great man-made river," is one of the biggest of its kind and will give the troubled South Korean construction industry a much-needed shot in the arm. Last year the South Korean contractors suffered a 4 per cent drop in overseas business compared with 1981, mainly because of competition from rival companies based in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia.

CSO: 4500/24

BRIEFS

BAHRAINI-SAUDI BANK--Manama, 9 Dec (WAKH)--An agreement has been signed here on the founding system and statutes of the Bahraini-Saudi Bank, a Bahraini shareholding company. The bank's announced capital is 50 million Bahraini dinars, and its paid capital is 40 million dinars. The 181 founders of the bank have paid 27 million dinars and the other 13 million dinars will be opened for public subscription in January or February next year. The share's value is one dinar, 50 percent of which is paid. [Excerpts] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 0800 GMT 9 Dec 83]

CSO: 4400/97

POTASH EXPORTS TO CHINA TO INCREASE

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 13 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Wassab Samawi]

[Text]

AMMAN — In the wake of His Majesty King Hussein's talks with Chinese leaders during his recent visit to the People's Republic of China, the Arab Potash Company (APC) will increase its exports of Jordanian potash to China to 60,000 tonnes for this year, according to APC Director Ali Khasawneh.

He said in a statement to the Jordanian News Agency, Petra, that a Chinese cargo ship will dock at the port of Aqaba towards the end of this month to take delivery of 30,000 tonnes of phosphates.

This year, APC will sell 300,000 tonnes of potash mostly to far eastern nations including China and India. The company then aims to raise its production level to 1.2 million tonnes by 1986, when the potash plant positioned on the Dead Sea will be completed, Mr. Khasawneh said.

Also, he said, there are studies at present being undertaken to consider the doubling of this figure in view of the increasing demand for Jordanian potash by China and India.

According to Mr. Khasawneh, it is in the interest of China and India to buy Jordan's potash because they save nearly $8 for every tonne they would otherwise have to import from other sources.

APC's prices are similar to those charged by Canada — the biggest world exporter of potash but our potash is cheaper for the far eastern countries than Canada's because the transportation distance involved is shorter thus making the freight cost considerably less, Mr. Khasawneh said.

Mr. Khasawneh revealed that APC makes a profit of $10 per tonne when selling potash to India and China. "That's why APC has drawn up plans to sell nearly 75 per cent of its total potash production to far eastern countries," Mr. Khasawneh said.

Jordan sells potash to Indonesia, China and India, all of which are Asian nations, as Jordan maintains very strong ties with these countries, Mr. Khasawneh added.

However, he said, the world potash market has improved lately and the prices have risen by $3 per tonne, he said. By the middle of 1984, he added, the price is expected to have rise by between $7 and $10.

One of the main factors that helps Jordan export considerable quantities of potash is the presence of a modern port at Aqaba which can load ships with up to 2,000 tonnes of potash per hour, Mr. Khasawneh pointed out.

He said that once the potash market in the United States improves, Canada will export most of its potash production to its southern neighbour, thus opening even wider avenues for Jordan to market its product in Asia and the far east.

CSO: 4400/94

AL-'AQABAH DISTRICT OFFICER INTERVIEWED ON DEVELOPMENT

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 26 Oct 83 p 7

[Interview with Husayn al-Habashinah, the al-'Aqabah district officer, by Habis al-'Asufi: "The City is Witnessing a Renaissance in the Economy, Development and Tourism, Various Services are Being Provided to the Citizens, the Workers and the Tourists; "date and place not specified.]

[Text] In view of the importance of the city of al-'Aqabah, which is Jordan's only gateway on the coast of the Red Sea, and the comprehensive renaissance which all aspects of life there, from development to the economy and tourism, have witnessed, AL-DUSTER met with al-'Aqabah's district officer, Mr Husayn Habashinah, who spoke in detail about the city of al-'Aqabah and the development which it has witnessed and is still witnessing.

Population of al-'Aqabah

Al-Habashinah estimates the population of al-'Aqabah at 40,000 to 50,000. However, this number is increasing constantly, in view of internal migration, due to the abundance of employment opportunities and the economic and tourist activity in the city. In addition, large numbers of people come from Arab countries and foreign countries for tourism or work.

Mr al-Habashinah added that most of the inhabitants of the district of al-'Aqabah live outside the city and are Beduin. Due to the difficult living conditions, some of them were forced to go and emigrate in search of work and a living. This moved the government to settle these inhabitants. It built housing and agricultural projects for them in the areas where they live and worked to assure them necessary services, in order to prevent them from emigrating. It also encouraged them to work in these agricultural projects and gave opportunities for learning modern agricultural methods, especially in the Wadi 'Arabah projects which were set by the Jordan Valley Authority.

Tourist Places

[Question] Concerning the development of tourist places and antiquities, Mr al-Habishinah had this to say:

[Answer] In view of the sunny climate al-'Aqabah enjoys all year because of its location on the sea, it has become the place to go for the citizens of Jordan during their free time. They spend the most pleasant of times on the beautiful shore, with the warm sun and the thick palm trees. In view of the unique qualities this shore has, it enjoys a great reputation in many countries of the world. Therefore, the city of al-'Aqabah has become a place visited by tourists from all over the world. In view of this positive response in the area of tourism, accompanying tourist services must be created. The most important service is the hotels, which will absorb these visitors and offer them the necessary services. Thus, specialized hotel companies have been set up in the city of al-'Aqabah, with both the private and the public sector taking part to provide these vital facilities. The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities has conducted the studies needed to develop both the southern and the northern coasts of al-'Aqabah, with the goal of increasing the absorption capacity of the hotels in order to keep pace with the development in the scale of tourism.

In addition, the government has interested itself in the means of transportation and in bringing the tourists to the resort areas with the necessary comfort at appropriate prices, in order to stimulate the flow of tourists. Thus, the government has worked to open an airport in the city of al-'Aqabah in order to transport groups of tourists from the capital of 'Amman to al-'Aqabah, thereby making things easier for them. It has also worked on creating tourist transportation companies outfitted with modern, air-conditioned buses. Since the city of al-'Aqabah is considered the only gateway to the Red Sea, it has become an important tourist center for shipping companies and a stopping place for tour ships from the various parts of the world. Moreover, a serious study has been done of the idea of creating an artificial lake on the northern part of the Gulf. It would contain all the public facilities needed to be a tourist center. Then there are the projects which are slated to be built on the southern shore. The decision to undertake them was made by the ministerial committee set up for this purpose which has been charged with developing the coast so that it will fulfill the wishes of the tourists and summer visitors. This will be done to stimulate the flow of tourists in the city and make things easier for every visitor, with attention also being given to attracting Jordanian citizens to spend their vacations in the city of al-'Aqabah instead of outside the country.

Agriculture in the District of al-'Aqabah

[Question] Concerning agriculture in the district of al-'Aqabah, Mr al-Habashinah said this:

[Answer] Since the land in the district of al-'Aqabah is sandy and seldom receives rain, and then only a little, the government has mainly been interested in irrigated agricultural projects. It has been trying to give the inhabitants the means necessary for a dignified life and to encourage them to stay. Among the most important of these projects are:

--The Wadi 'Arabah Cooperative project. The cultivation of tomatoes, citrus fruit and cucumbers inside plastic houses in the Wadi 'Arabah region has begun. An area of about 400 dunams has been used.

--The al-Sa'idiyyin project of the Jordan Valley Authority. The area of this project is 36 dunams. They are planted with a crop of tomatoes, cucumbers and barley. The area is irrigated with artesian wells.

--The Rahmah project being carried out by the Jordan Valley Authority. The area of this project is 100 dunams. It has been planted with a crop of tomatoes, cucumbers and squash.

--The al-Disi agricultural project. The area of the project is 800 dunams. This area of ground has been planted with a crop of watermelon, cantaloupe, lettuce, barley, wheat and clover.

Agricultural Problems

[Question] Concerning the problems faced by agriculture in the district of al-'Aqabah, Mr al-Habashinah said:

[Answer] Agricultural pests are considered one of the problems to which the crops are exposed. They affect both the quantity produced and the farms in general. Moreover, the location of the agricultural projects is itself one of the major problems which the farmers confront, since all of these projects are in distant places far from the cities. This creates an obstacle for the farmers which hampers the marketing of their produce. In addition, some of the roads leading to these projects are bad. Moreover, the scarcity of water, which is absent in some areas, limits the area which can be planted, since it is difficult to farm the entire area through irrigation. The same is true of farming without irrigation, due to the low yearly rainfall.

Animal Wealth

[Question] Concerning animal wealth in the district of al-'Aqabah, Mr al-Habashinah said:

[Answer] The district of al-'Aqabah is considered an area in which there is little animal husbandry, since the majority of the animals in the district are located in the eastern section. The majority of them are sheep, goats and camels. The number of goats in the district is estimated to be 20,000 head. One of the most important problems facing the animal resource is its scattered distribution and the fact that its owners do not stay in a particular place. This makes it difficult to provide veterinary services to the animal wealth. In addition, pasture land and water are scarce in this region. As for the maritime wealth, which consists of fish, the quantity of fish caught has reached about 20 tons, while the number of fishermen has reached 84. The number of fishing boats is 18. Among the problems faced by the fishermen is the increase in the cost of fuel and in the price of ice, as well as the narrowness of the area in which they are allowed to fish. Moreover, there are no fixed prices for fresh fish on the local market.

Education in the District of al-'Aqabah

[Question] Concerning the matter of education in the district of al-'Aqabah, Mr al-Habashinah said:

[illegible] In keeping with the theory of education and instruction concerning the [illegible] and knowledge among the ranks of the citizens, and at the rank of the leaders to see that those who want education [illegible] to it, schools on various levels have been built. The city of al-'Aqabah has received a large share of these schools, which [illegible] the various levels of those who are legally required to receive instruction. Let me throw some light on the subject here with some statistics which show the number of male and female students, the number of schools, and the increase in their effectiveness which has been achieved by opening new schools which [illegible] increasing numbers of those seeking knowledge.

Then, the district of al-'Aqabah contains 15 schools offering all classes. [illegible] are 19 teachers teaching in them. The district's various schools are attended by [illegible] students. The district also has six schools belonging to the [illegible] about [illegible] instructors teach in them, and 725 male and female students [illegible] instruction. As for the obstacles to education in the district of al-'Aqabah, there is a lack of ground and of school buildings in the city of al-'Aqabah as a result of the abundance of work opportunities [illegible] causing the number of students to rise.

In addition, the absence of essential services in the schools in the district's [illegible] affects the psychology and stability of the instructors. Indeed, they [illegible] to these villages. In addition, the citizens in these villages are not [illegible]. All this affects the structure of education in these areas.

Telephone Service

(Question) Concerning telephone service, Mr al-Habashinah said:

(Answer) There is an electronic distributor in the city of al-'Aqabah which provides telephone service to the citizens there, from the airport in the northern area to the chemical fertilizer company in the southern part of the city. In its current condition, this distributor provides local, national and international service at a good level of efficiency. Since a branch distributor is located in the center of al-Karak, service is available there as well. There is also a manual distributor which provides telephone service to those citizens who do not have telephones, in addition to the international service for the requests of the subscribers. I want to mention that the mail service is the equal of that provided to the citizens anywhere in the kingdom. Therefore, the Ministry of Communications paid special attention to the mail service in this district by means of a number of different post offices.

Social Services

(Question) Concerning social services in the district, Mr al-Habashinah said:

(Answer) In light of the great progress made by society in the city of al-'Aqabah in particular and the district in general, as well as the desire felt by the inhabitants of the district for progress and work, the people have founded

A total of five charitable societies which offer a variety of services, such as care for the handicapped, sewing centers and printing centers. Moreover, the Ministry of Social Development has given the citizens in the district of al-'Aqabah most of its attention. Social services have included monetary relations to poor families, the families of orphans and needy families caring for children. In addition, the ministry has done sociological studies of those who wish to benefit from the health insurance programs. It has also increased the role of nurseries in the district.

Labor Situation in al-'Aqabah

[Question] Concerning the labor situation in the city of al-'Aqabah, Mr al-Habashinah said:

[Answer] There is increasing interest in the city of al-'Aqabah because it is a tourism and an economic center, and because it is attracting thousands of workers. This helped force the Ministry of Labor to declare the labor office in the district of al-'Aqabah a labor department. That happened in the beginning of 1980.

The labor department in al-'Aqabah organizes the process of utilizing the workers of various nationalities in accordance with the priorities set by Jordanian labor law. The law gives Jordanian workers priority in employment. Next come Arab workers, and then foreign workers. In addition, the utilization office issues work permits to Arab and foreign workers before they start working. Then there is a special division which does investigations. It belongs to the al-'Aqabah labor department. It visits institutions and companies to see to what extent they are applying the provisions of the labor law and to pursue the labor problems which can arise between the workers and the employers. This division also monitors the extent to which the employers and workers are following the articles of the law which have to do with preserving the future, health and safety of the workers by certifying work and experience certificates.

The city of al-'Aqabah is considered one of the centers where workers concentrate. It comes right after the capital of 'Amman in terms of the number of workers. This is due to the increasing demand for workers on the part of the Organization of Ports and the big projects like the fertilizer company, the al-'Aqabah railway, and the transportation and clearance companies. The total number of Arab and foreign workers in the city of al-'Aqabah is thus 14,328, as of 1981. Therefore, it rose by 640 since last year.

Health Situation

[Question] Concerning the health situation in the district of al-'Aqabah, Mr al-Habashinah had this to say:

[Answer] In recent years, the city and district of al-'Aqabah have made big steps in the direction of progress and development. It was necessary for this progress to be accompanied by an expansion in the area of health services as

well. Previously, such services had been limited to a medium health center. In coordination with this expansion in health services, which are provided by numerous agencies in this district, an assistant departmental office was opened in the district for the purpose of completely overseeing health affairs in the district. Therefore, health services were divided in the following manner:

Al-'Aqabah has an integrated health center which contains an external clinic for general medicine, a dental clinic, a specialized clinic devoted to nose, ear and throat care, and a clinic for skin diseases. There are also village clinics in the villages of Rahmah, Gharnadal, and Bir Mazkur. The district's one hospital is the Princess Hayya al-Husayn. It belongs to the royal medical services and offers treatment to all the citizens in the district of al-'Aqabah.

There there is the armed forces' facility, which has 100 beds. All but the delicate specialties such as cardiac and neural operations are available there.

Water Situation

[Question] Concerning the water situation in the district of al-'Aqabah, Mr al-Habashinah said:

[Answer] In past years, the city of al-'Aqabah suffered greatly from a lack of water. It is an extremely hot city which needs large quantities of water for drinking purposes. It is also an industrial center. For these reasons, and in view of its great suffering, the government has devoted increased attention to the city of al-'Aqabah. It has done so by making water available to it, since the local water sources are insufficient. This began at the start of the 1960's. The problem has been eliminated by sending water to the city of al-'Aqabah from the al-Disi depression wells and from a group of separate wells in the same area. Of course, the amount of water needed by the city and its factories is estimated at about 120,000 cubic meters a day.

Sources of Water

The wells, which number seven, are scattered through the al-Disi depression. The productive capacity of each well is about 200 cubic meters per hour. Two to three wells are operated each day for 24 hours.

There are eight wells in Wadi al-Yitm. The productive capacity of each well is 13 to 40 cubic meters an hour.

The quantity of water pumped daily from the wells of al-Quwayrah is between 500 to 900 cubic meters. It supplies the township of al-Quwayrah and the Arabs of the al-Qadman triangle.

There are six wells in Abu al-Diba' and the plain of al-Sawan. They are used only for irrigation. They are operated according to the Ministry of Agriculture's need for irrigation water. Moreover, water arrives in all the areas daily, so that there is no lack of drinking water. As for the villages with the greatest need, they are supplied through water cisterns. There are two cisterns in the county of al-Quwayrah and two in al-'Aqabah.

DEVELOPMENT OUTSIDE AMMAN URGED

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 1-2 Dec 83 p 4

[Article in the "Red And Black" column by Jawad Ahmad: "Deammanisation: Concept and Solutions"]

[Text] THE MAN who should be accredited with the term "deammanisation" is His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan. In the Second Economic Development Conference held in Amman in 1976, The Crown Prince used the term to sum up one of Jordan's main economic worries and insinuate the solution to the problem.

The problem of course is the skewed population distribution of Jordan. It is estimated that 35 per cent of the Jordan population live in the city of Amman proper. The Greater Amman area hosts 57 per cent of Jordan's population. In other words 1.3 million Jordanians live in approximately 300 square kilometres, while the rest of the 2.4 million inhabitants are scattered over 94,000 square kilometres.

As for the people of Amman itself, life has reached limits of diminishing returns. The return in terms of happiness is declining because of crowdedness and competition. Efforts by the government to keep up are on all the time, yet peoples' appetite seems to be faster.

The population distributions, however, involves more than meets the eye. The rural output and production has diminished over time, and I tend to believe, that the population sub-numbers in Jordan's rural areas have negatively affected agriculture. Output was maintained at its current level by heavy labour and capital imports.

There is also the cost of transferring available resources from their current positions to their respective markets. Imports come basically through Aqaba and are hauled 320 kilometres to Amman. Moreover, water, energy and agricultural products take large investments and expenditures to secure them for the users of Amman.

What is the solution then to get around this problem? Deammanise. This means that productive ventures and infrastructural projects in the rural areas must be increased and beefed up. At this stage this is an expensive proposition. While the state budget is striving to reach a balance between government's current expenditures and domestic revenues, expanding services and production in rural areas becomes severely constrained.

What can be done to fulfil this goal of enticing people to move outside Amman and to keep people outside it where they are? This can be achieved by a combination of ideas.

First, by adopting proper legislations that would make it more profitable to invest outside Amman. The Encouragement of Investment Law can give tax concessions and tariff amenities. I believe the Ministry of Industry and Trade has done something to that effect.

Second, by endorsing a plan which would enhance the basic services and ensure their ability. Water and electricity are means to keep people in rural areas and enhance their felicity. Roads of course is another outlet. Next year's (1984) budget was declared as a year of water and electricity in rural areas.

Third, by enhancing the income in rural areas through encouraging agricultural production, marketing and price flexibility.

These proposition's are necessary and partially sufficient to do the trick. Universities in the North and South of the country will eventually create an atmosphere of local pride that could transcend the urge to move to Amman.

Deammanisation is a panacea in relation to the current situation.

CSO: 4400/94

BRIEFS

RESEARCH EXCHANGE WITH FRG--AMMAN (J.T.)--An academic cooperation agreement between Jordan and West Germany is due to be signed Wednesday at the Yarmouk Liaison Office here. The agreement, which will be between Yarmouk University and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), will help to realise new research projects, according to a spokesman for the West German embassy. Both sides, the spokesman continued, will annually exchange up to three highly qualified scientists for this purpose. The exchange programme is in addition to the already existing academic graduate exchange programmes which have been running within the framework of the German-Jordanian Academic Exchange Schedule. For the academic year 1984/85, West Germany has already forwarded through the DAAD up to 15 Ph.D-scholarships for graduates of the Jordanian universities and a number of short-term invitations for study visits to Germany for staff members of Jordanian institutes. Beyond that, the German government and German private institutions and foundations annually provide a great number of scholarships in various fields. The agreement will be signed by the German ambassador to Jordan Dr. Hermann Munz and the President of Yarmouk University, Dr. Adnan Badran. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 30 Nov 83 p 3]

CSO: 4400/94

STUDY EXAMINES ROLE OF WOMEN IN REPLACING FOREIGN LABOR FORCE

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 22 Nov 83 p 17

[Article: "Looking at the Gulf: Findings on Kuwaiti Women's Employment; Working Women...Will They Replace the Expatriate Work Force in the Gulf?!; One Woman Can Eliminate the Need to Bring in Five People (Average Family Size for a Foreign Worker); Women Constitute Only 9.3 Percent of the Work Force in Kuwait, While Foreign Workers Make Up 27 Percent; Social Circumstances Hinder Expansion of Women's Role"]

[Text] This journalistic study asks an important question about the Gulf work force, and the women in it in particular...Can the working woman help limit the bringing in of foreign workers? There is a logic behind this question because the work of one woman can keep the country from bringing in "at least five people," the average size family of a foreign worker.

However, the "illogical" aspect is that we are asking women to cover all fields and to fill any shortage in the job market when we broaden our discussion of women's working, which is limited by the various social circumstances of the Gulf woman herself.

In general, this study does not make this demand, since it only deals with it marginally in order to answer the question of whether women in the work force can replace the expatriate work force.

Specifically, it deals with working women in Kuwaiti society, a group that makes up only 9.3 percent of the total work force, while expatriates comprise 27 percent.

Visitors to the Arab Gulf region usually observe the scarcity of local working women in government and private institutions as compared with the expatriate work force even though this region has made broad strides in university and trade education.

Official statistics show that the local work force of women in Kuwait is only 9.3 percent of the total, while expatriates make up 27 percent of the work force.

Informed opinions differ on this phenomenon, which is observed throughout the Gulf area. While some believe that it is due to the negative attitude of women themselves or to the lack of work opportunities equal to those of men, others think it is definitely due to the cultural milieu of the region, also taking into consideration the current circumstances in the Arab world as a whole.

Dr Shafiqa Bustaki of the Department of Philosophy of Kuwait University believes that the primary problem is the obstacles to the working woman's leaving the home and participating effectively and fully in the profession she has chosen to pursue based on her education and the speciality in which she was trained in the field best suited to her intellectual abilities and personal preferences.

She added that the most significant obstacle is attempting to juggle her professional demands, which satisfy her intellectual ambitions as a person, and the demands of family responsibility, which are her primary duties and realize her ambitions as the woman of the household.

It is said that many women who work or wish to cannot participate effectively in public life either because they cannot find household help or good care for their children or families when they enter the work force for economic reasons or because of social reasons, such as the opposition of their husbands or other family members to their working outside the home.

Dr Bastaki stresses that these obstacles must become known and the difficulties facing working women overcome through conducting studies and investigations.

Regarding the role of women's associations in the question of working women, she says that these associations carried out their role during a specific stage --when women were prohibited from participating in the professional and scientific associations for their professions--however, this does not mean that they are no longer useful. Their role now is to help working women by setting up model day care centers supervised by specialists in this field.

Dr Bustaki emphasizes that replacing the expatriate worker with a woman or a man will not lessen the severity of the expatriate worker problem.

Some types of work performed by the expatriate are shunned by both sexes in the Gulf region.

She says that the solution may be to use modern technology or to draft young people for building and construction work as a type of compulsory national service.

In conclusion, Dr Bustaki emphasizes that the source of the problem is existing conditions, which she does not specify, adding that "nothing has changed."

In this regard, members of the working women's committee of the General Federation of Kuwaiti Workers stress the social and economic practicality of the female work force, even though it is small, citing the fact that one working woman keeps the state from having to bring in an entire family of expatriates, which averages five persons.

The committee has said that the essential fact is that the women's problem is the problem of the society as a whole and cannot be dealt with in any country separately from the effect their participation has on production and social and economic change; that is, separate from the laws, legislation and customs which restrict it.

The Gulf woman, as an Arab woman, is a prisoner of the circumstances of the developing world, where societies suffer from backwardness and various social restrictions.

The members say that working women in Kuwait suffer discrimination in opportunities given the two sexes, such as the limited opportunities for advancement in the government sector, where they are often passed over, and the private sector where they are almost completely ignored. Officials justify this, particularly where it concerns the "private" family sector, with reasons that are not logical, even though laws governing both sectors have taken into account women's equality with men for equal work from the standpoint of prohibiting women from working at night, granting maternity leave and the situation favorable to women in insurance laws.

They also said that some women have a negative attitude toward participating in public life because they do not realize that it is important.

The committee wondered why, if women are a participating force in production and social and economic change, their position in society is unchanged.

The members expressed optimism for the future, since the percentage of women graduates from Kuwait University was 61 percent from 1965 to 1975, with almost the same percentage graduating from technical institutes.

Illiteracy among women dropped from 77.9 percent in 1957 to 49.6 percent in 1980, while holders of degrees from secondary school or hihger went from 1 percent in 1957 to 7.7 percent in 1980.

Illiteracy among men decreased from 48.6 percent in 1957 to 22.7 percent in 1980, while holders of degrees from secondary school or higher went from 4 percent in 1957 to 10.2 percent in 1980.

In concluding, the members of the committee emphasized to Kuwait News Agency [KUNA] that they are convinced that women's rights will not come automatically, but must be obtained through organization and clear-sighted collective efforts, such as establishing a general women's federation with political education of women as its primary goal.

Dr 'Ali Taqi, Cultural Attache at the Bahraini Embassy in Paris and one concerned about women's affairs who has participated in several forums and seminars on women, believes that Gulf women have received a great deal of encouragement from officials in their countries, both toward education and working, particularly in the fields which are appropriate for women--in his opinion--such as communications, radio and the banking sector. However, he believes that the bottom line is for women to establish themselves in the job market and to constitute a large percentage of the work force.

He adds that women's importance here derives from their pervasiveness in the job market, for if they constitute a large percentage, say 25 or 30 percent, then of course the national economy will depend a great deal on their participation.

Dr Taqi also says that, although there are an abundance of educational opportunities for both men and women in the Gulf, certain social circumstances limit women's advancement in this sphere. He underscores the role of women in taking advantage of all the opportunities afforded them in an informed, intelligent manner.

Dr Taqi emphasizes that women's political rights are an accepted fact, for when they establish their capabilities and extensive presence in the economic and social spheres, their political rights will be awarded them as the culmination of their historic development.

Dr Taqi says that local women can replace expatriate workers in many high, mid- and low-level positions, such as clerical work; however, they will probably not replace them in non-skilled jobs, such as construction and cleaning, because of social barriers.

Mrs Amal Badr al-Gharbali, researcher for the human sciences journal of Kuwait University, believes that the issue of Gulf women is a relative one, for if we look at the broad picture--the position of Arab women in general--we find that the main problem is the widespread illiteracy and lack of education among Arab women as a whole.

She adds, "If we look at the current status of women in Kuwait, we would be envied for the opportunities we have for an education and to take part in public life, from which we can benefit many times over.

"The final goal which will unite the interlocking circles of Gulf women and Arab women in general in the broadest framework is to liberate all Arabs and to put the right man or woman, not just the right man, in the right position--planning for a progressive society through its material foundations and human relations."

For this reason, Mrs al-Gharbali believes that, taking into consideration the critical political circumstances in the Arab world and the weakness of Arab liberation forces at the present, the direct cause of this is the general cultural trend prevailing in the country.

She commented that the official news media daily put out propaganda to create a female society reliant on men, and she criticized the radio program "Woman's Corner" as teaching women only about cooking, rearing children and applying makeup.

She emphasized that this will create a false awareness among women themselves, for we find many who are not aware of their rights and at times of their own existence. Instead, they rely on rearing their children the same way past generations did.

Regarding the importance of women's obtaining their rights and exercising their right to run for election and to vote, Mrs al-Gharbali says, "giving women their political rights in a totally mechanical fashion will not change the current situation greatly, since the structure of a society and all its norms are relics from the past. Consequently, these same relics will form its foundations; however, this in no way prevents us from demanding our political rights as one of women's rights as human beings."

9882
CSO: 4404/152

AMBASSADOR INTERVIEWED ON EGYPT-OMAN RELATIONS

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 31 Oct 83 p 4

[Interview with Omani Ambassador Ghalib 'Abdallah Jabran, by Hidayat 'Abd-al-Nabi, date and place not given]

> [Text] Husni Mubarak assumed the presidency of Egypt 2 years ago in the same month in which the glorious October victories took place. In this article, we continue the Arab dialogue concerning President Mubarak and this great victory. This interview is with Ghalib 'Abdallah Jabran, ambassador of the Sultanate of Oman to Egypt, who is now completing his first year in Cairo.

[Question] Before the month of the October victories and the second anniversary of Husni Mubarak's presidency comes to a close, what are your comments, Mr Ambassador, on the 10th anniversary of the October victories?

[Answer] As I observed the October celebrations here in Cairo, I was reminded of the 10 years that have passed since the beginning of the bloody fighting. I immediately made a comparison between conditions prevailing in the Arab world before and after 1400 on 6 October 1973, the 10th of Ramadan.

The situation in the Arab nation then was like that of a lake that is vast but very still. Everyone believed that it was a stiff corpse completely incapable of taking any steps to eliminate the effects of the 1967 defeat.

Suddenly, the silence became a roar as the Egyptian troops shouted, "God is most great!" The Bar Lev line was not the only thing destroyed by their courage. Their victories smashed military theories and principles that have long been learned by military men in institutes and colleges in Eastern and Western states alike. Military science academies have acknowledged that innovative fighting methods employed by the Egyptian army have become a part of the curricula studied by students of army, navy, and air force colleges throughout the world.

The wisdom of Providence willed that President Husni Mubarak, then commander of the air force, should win the honor of cutting off Israel's long arm--its air force.

The Egyptian air force, under the leadership of Mubarak, succeeded in proving that the Israeli air force was not the longest arm in the region when Egypt's engines reached far into the heart of Israel.

Perhaps the most important lesson that can be learned from this war is that the Arabs are capable of achieving the highest forms of solidarity, as the battles made clear. The experience of Arab cooperation in October 1973 proved that we are capable of unifying our positions and marshaling all our resources toward one goal when we try to do so.

Relations Between Muscat, Cairo

[Question] What is your impression of Egyptian-Omani relations in all their political, cultural, economic, and commercial aspects?

[Answer] Muscat and Cairo have gone beyond the traditional relations that normally join any two states of the world. They now have a strong and special relationship based on a solid foundation of positive cooperation in all fields, mutual respect, and continual consultation with one another.

I am pleased to affirm that these relations have undergone continuous progress that has led to conformity in the two countries' positions and views on important national issues.

Time continually strengthens the fraternal ties that bind the two countries under the brotherhood and friendship that unite Sultan Qabus and President Husni Mubarak, who have developed the countries' relations to a level of excellence among Arab relations.

Cooperation between Muscat and Cairo extends to all areas. There are continuous communications among all the Egyptian and Omani ministries to arrange joint cooperation in all fields in a climate of continuous coordination and consultation between President Mubarak and Sultan Qabus.

Moreover, relations have not stopped at official cooperation but have extended to a deepening of communication between the two peoples through the opening of Oman to Egyptians who wish to work there. These Egyptians are participating with their Omani brothers to promote development, building, and modernization in the sultanate.

Today Egyptians form the largest Arab colony in Oman among all the citizens of the Arab world states who have come to work in Oman. The citizens of Oman recognize the positive role the Egyptians are playing in the achievement of progress in Oman.

The Omanis are extremely proud of the friendship of the ancient Egyptian people, who courageously bore the burdens their destiny imposed on them when their country became the first line of defense of the Arab people.

We Supported Cairo's Right To Wage the War of Negotiations

[Question] Oman was alone in adopting a courageous position on the Egyptian peace initiative in 1977. Why did Muscat adopt this position despite strong Arab opposition?

[Answer] Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id's decision to support the Egyptian initiative was issued after deep deliberation and total evaluation of all the facts of the Palestinian issue and Cairo's position on it.

A review of the various aspects of the issue confirmed that Egypt would never abandon its national responsibility. In fact, it performed its duty with a courage that attained the level of sacrifice, and Egypt's economy was heavily taxed for its tenacious adherence to its Arab commitments. Egypt did all this with a willing spirit, viewing this role as a matter of destiny from which it could not be released. Rather, it has the honor of undertaking the burdens placed on its shoulders despite its well known lack of economic resources and its ever growing population.

Therefore, Oman did not hesitate to support all the Egyptian efforts aimed at solving the Arab-Israeli conflict, which reached an important turning point in 1977 with the peace initiative.

Muscat's view was that Cairo's announcement of that initiative did not represent an attempt to disengage itself from its responsibilities. Moreover, Oman was--and still is--confident that Egypt was not retreating and will not retreat from demanding the rights of the Arabs. Moreover, the sultanate believes it is necessary to try every door that could lead to a solution of the unfortunate Palestinian problem.

For this reason, Sultan Qabus called on the Arab world to give the Egyptian effort a chance to succeed and not to take away Cairo's right to wage the "war" of negotiations on the peace front.

After Egypt succeeded in signing the peace agreement that is the general framework for its accomplishments in the area along with the recovery of Sinai, Muscat affirmed its support for the Egyptian efforts. Cairo's positions on the formula for the solution to the problem coincided exactly with the viewpoints of the sultanate, which joins with Cairo in adopting several main points:

--The Egyptian-Israeli agreement is not a separate and partial solution but rather a prelude to the achievement of a total and just peace.

--The Palestinian problem is the main element of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

--The Israeli forces must withdraw from all territories occupied after the 1967 aggression, and the legal rights of the Palestinian people to return and establish an independent state must be instated.

Moreover, Omani policy views the liberation of Sinai as a gain for the Arab nation. For the first time, Israel withdrew from Arab lands it occupied after the 1967 aggression--an achievement that represents an important precedent that could be repeated with respect to the remaining lands. In addition, Sinai represents the largest percentage of the area occupied by the Israeli forces after the aggression.

Reinstatement of Arab Relations With Cairo

[Question] What is Oman's assessment of the importance of Arab-Egyptian relations with respect to the achievement of an overall Arab reconciliation?

[Answer] Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id believes that Arab disagreements are the "real crisis" in this nation because this nation possesses unlimited possibilities and energies. The marshaling and uniting of these resources will guarantee that the Arabs become a world power which has an effective influence for the benefit of the peoples of the region.

Therefore, Omani policy persists in calling for the application of logic and reason to these conflicts.

This is an established strategic principle which Muscat has adopted with respect to all the capitals of the Arab world.

With regard to Arab relations with Egypt, the prevailing impression in Oman is that the time has come to resume natural relations. Time has proved that [text illegible], especially since in the recent past it has borne direct responsibility for the issues and problems that have arisen--even after the decisions to freeze relations.

Following are some examples:

--Egypt did not hesitate to support Iraq in its war against Iran, and it offered the maximum possible support and assistance to Lebanon during its arduous negotiations with Israel. It continues to offer assistance to Lebanon.

--It played a vital role in disengaging the Israeli blockage on the Palestinian Feda'veen after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

--It moved decisively to recall its ambassador from Tel Aviv in protest over the Israeli position on Lebanon and refused to announce the appointment of a new ambassador until Israel had announced a withdrawal schedule and begun to implement it. Egypt refused to give in to numerous attempts to pressure it into renouncing this position.

In short, time has proved that Egypt and the other Arabs have an organic relationship which is absolutely incapable of being severed.

Therefore, Arab reconciliation will not be achieved without Egypt and its positive participation.

No Alternative to Total Arab Support

[Question] What is Oman's evaluation of developments in the disturbances in Lebanon?

[Answer] The situation in Lebanon is extremely delicate and warns of disastrous effects to come. Lebanon's chief problem is no longer limited to the struggle between various factions and forces--which the Lebanese term the "prime movers" but has developed far beyond this. The problem can be summed up with one set of questions:

Will a unified Arab Lebanon remain on the world map within the same borders it possessed before the collapse of the security situation in 1975? Or will it be transformed into small states while Israel occupies the area of South Lebanon? Will Tel Aviv be content with this sector, or will its appetite grow so that it swallows up other areas?

The situation is extremely dangerous and calls for a concentrated Arab effort, because Lebanon is on the verge of becoming a second Palestine.

There is no alternative to complete and absolute Arab support of the legitimate government in Beirut in opposition to the Israelis in order to bring the maximum possible pressure to gain their evacuation.

Sultan Qabus has been committed to participating in the efforts aimed at resolving this crisis based on his belief that every Arab country must participate and on Oman's national commitments to its sister Arab states.

The sultan visited Washington last April--instead of in September--in order to gain time. His highness criticized the American leaders clearly and frankly and asserted to them that America was in a trial period with respect to its efforts to participate in the withdrawal negotiations.

He explained to them that it was incumbent on Washington to succeed in this test. If it did not, he said, it would lose much, including much of the trust that its friends had placed in it.

I believe that the formation of the reconciliation committee is an indication that the Lebanese people can get through their ordeal and arrive at an agreement to spare the blood of this brother people and enable their nation to avoid the dangers of internationalizing the Lebanese crisis.

Armed Forces Are a Deterrent to Protect the Gulf Area

[Question] To what extent does Oman believe that the security of the Gulf area is in danger? And what are the dimensions of the dangers that threaten it?

[Answer] Areas with strategic importance are always threatened by danger. This is especially true when they are among those areas involved in the international struggle of the superpowers. In the context of this struggle, the superpowers vie to win "objectives" or score points to their advantage against the countries with which they compete.

Fate ordained that the Gulf should be one of the most important strategic sites in the world because of its oil resources. The same applies to the main navigation routes for the exportation of this oil to the United States, the European states, and Japan.

Therefore, the Gulf is an important and vital area and the international struggle is one element of danger to the Gulf states.

The continuation of the Iraqi-Iranian war is another threat.

A third source of concern is the Soviet presence in Afghanistan so close to Gulf waters.

The only way to make the area states secure is to strengthen them and arm them to the point that they are able to protect their security and maintain stability in the area. This is in the interests of their peoples and the world as a whole.

The possession of effective armed forces is a "weapon of deterrence" which compels anyone who contemplates hostile action against the possessor of this weapon to reconsider many times over before daring to take a step [words illegible].

8591
CSO: 4404/109

NEW PRIME MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMY

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 24 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview with Mr 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Ghani, new prime minister of Yemen Arab Republic by 'Abd-al-Wahab al-Mu'ayyid; in San'a': "In His First Interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT the New Prime Minister of Yemen Says, 'We Will Concentrate on Agricultural and Industrial Development In the Country and on Strengthening Relations with Arab Brothers and with Saudi Arabia in Particular' "]

[Text] Mr 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Ghani, the new prime minister in the Yemen Arab Republic granted his first press interview to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT after assuming his position last week. In that interview the new prime minister spoke about various local and Arab issues and about the initiatives that the government will undertake inside the country and abroad. The text of the interview follows:

[Question] What are the initiatives with which you intend to begin your administration?

[Answer] There are specific policies which the country has been pursuing. We will start out with these policies, and we will be guided by the instructions of his excellency, the president, Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih. We will follow the course and the noble principles of the Revolution of 26 September, and we will achieve the hopes and ambitions of our people, as these are spelled out in the National Charter. The president had instructed the government, when he presided over its first session after the constitutional oath was sworn, and he had presented to the government its primary functions. Chief among those functions is the effort to implement the remaining projects of the second 5-Year Plan. The president instructed the government to give its considerable attention to the economic aspect of the plan and to concentrate on the process of development. The president instructed the government to pay attention to the agricultural side and the industrial side [of the economy] and to encourage investments in the country, whether these investments were local, Arab or foreign. We will also strengthen ties and relations between us and our Arab brothers, particularly our brothers in the countries of the Arabian Peninsula and our brothers in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in particular. We will also work with our brothers in South Yemen to implement the agreements that were made between the two sections of the country to achieve the highest goal of our people in Yemen, which is the reunification of Yemen. There has also been no change in our relations with the remaining countries and in our public policy because those relations and that policy stem

from the basic principles of our constant policy and our Arab, Islamic and international relations.

Recently our people have had a major and a very significant achievement. That is the National Charter which sets forth the ambitions and the hopes of our people. The General People's Congress is our country's formula for political activity. It stems from the wishes of our people. The government is fully committed to the objectives and principles of the National Charter, and we will try to achieve [those] objectives and principles in the political, economic, social, educational and other areas mentioned in the charter.

The Plan and Difficulties

[Question] Do you think that the government can implement the rest of the 5-Year Plan in the next 3 years? What are the most important difficulties that would stand in the way of implementation?

[Answer] Yes, we believe that thanks to the major efforts which the people of Yemen are making to achieve and complete the projects of the second 5-Year Plan, we will be able to complete those projects in the next 3 years. These are the 3 years that are left in the years of the plan. Of course there are some difficulties we will be facing in implementing the second 5-Year Plan. The first of these difficulties is that of financing. But we believe that we will be able to overcome the difficulties with the cooperation of our fellow financiers and those who pledged their financial support [to us], chief among whom are our fellow Arabs in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, who are financing a major part of the projects of the 5-Year Plan, and also our fellow Arabs in the Gulf countries.

[Question] It is being noticed that at this stage Yemen is going through a distinctive economic turning point. Would you please define that turning point [for us] and explain its most notable features and its relationship with raising taxes and customs fees and banning some imports?

[Answer] The state has recently taken a few economic measures. These measures were specifically taken in the area of foreign trade. The state reorganized foreign trade and imports to protect local products, both industrial and agricultural. The state did that to encourage local production and to dispose of local products and of surplus local products as well. Some people whose interests were hurt by these measures faulted the state for adopting a new policy when in fact there has been no change in the state's economic policy. Our purpose has always been to strengthen the national economy so we can reach a stage of self-sufficiency. Among the policies that the government is following to achieve that self-sufficiency is a policy of encouraging local products. The truth is that if there are some difficulties facing us at this stage, they are part of the difficulties that the world economy as a whole is facing. God willing, we will be able to overcome such difficulties.

With regard to what you mentioned about increasing taxes, there has been no increase in taxes and customs fees. As I said the measures that have been taken in the area of foreign trade were measures to encourage local agricultural and industrial production.

Attention to Agriculture

[Question] It has also been noticed that the state has recently been taking an interest in agriculture. Can you tell us something about your government's program in this regard?

[Answer] The economy of Yemen rests basically on agriculture. Being an agricultural country, a large part of Yemen's GNP depends on agriculture. Also a large percentage of Yemen's labor force is employed in agriculture. We are trying to develop this vital activity for these reasons and also because investments made in agriculture yield a quick and an immediate return. Returns on agricultural investments realize the principal objective of the plan, which is self-sufficiency, particularly in food. This is something to which we must pay major attention. We are concentrating on several aspects of agriculture. We are paying attention to irrigation; we are introducing improved seeds; and we are introducing automation in the farming process. The purpose of all that is to increase production. All this is accompanied by agricultural guidance which stays in step with the process of development and growth. We also consider agriculture an important source of raw materials for industry, particularly the food processing industry. In looking after agriculture we are paying attention to poultry farms, to livestock farms and also to dairy farms and dairy products. In looking after agriculture, we are also concentrating on fish so we can provide food for citizens, and we are concentrating on apiaries as well.

At the same time we are taking an interest in farmers, and we are bringing new life into rural areas so that Yemeni farmers can improve their standard of living and stay in step with modern life. The state is very much interested in integrated rural development. The method we are using to increase production in agriculture is that of having the state provide farmers directly with all the facilities. The people of Yemen are by nature energetic and responsive to all new and modern things. The state also offers farmers facilities through cooperatives which were instructed by the president to shift to production in the next stage. God willing, we will have numerous production cooperatives that will help farmers increase their production, improve their crops and market those crops.

Searching for Oil

[Question] What about the search for oil and other natural resources? When can Yemen begin producing oil, and how much oil will it produce?

[Answer] The search for oil is ongoing now. We hope that the first well will be drilled by the end of 1983 or by the beginning of 1984. This will be in the field east of the country where the search for oil is now underway.

We are attaching considerable importance to other natural resources, and numerous surveys have been conducted to look for minerals that may be under the surface of the earth. This is also one of the objectives declared by the president, Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih early in his second term. These surveys have produced good results. Copper was found in commercial quantities in the area of al-Hamurah, south of the city of Ta'izz, and silver ore was found in the area of Naham. Preparations are now underway for putting these mines to commercial use. Also the search is underway for other minerals we believe are under the surface of the earth.

Reasons for Success

[Question] Your government was the first government in Yemen to continue in office for more than 5 years. This aroused the admiration of many people inside the country and abroad. What are the reasons behind this success? What are the experiences that you got out of that?

[Answer] First of all, thank you for what you said. If success was achieved, it was actually due to the Yemeni people who are the prime reason for such success. Also if there was success, it was due to many of our fellow state employees who played a major role in bringing it about. One does actually gain experiences from everything one does in any field of activity. There is no doubt that the work one does in government and all the work one does in general gives one numerous experiences which he would not have gained had it not been for that work. The fact is that one finds much happiness in the work one does to serve the people. Our view of a government official is that he is merely an individual who was given an opportunity to do his duty to serve the people. He has to carry out that duty faithfully and sincerely. He has to achieve the objectives that his people hope to achieve and realize the aspirations to which the people strive for. In the past the people of Yemen had been deprived of many of the fundamentals of modern life. Today, they are trying to make up for what they missed in the past. One of the most important reasons for success lies in that considerable confidence which the president has and in the authorities that were granted to the government. These are considered among the decisive factors for the success of any activity. We hope that God Almighty will cause us to succeed now so we can realize the hopes and aspirations of our people.

Confronting the Deficit

[Question] To what extent is there an unusual deficit in the state budget, and if there is a deficit, how will your government confront it?

[Answer] We are in a developing country, and we, therefore, have numerous projects that we are implementing. These projects require considerable expenses. We have been trying to develop our resources because the reason for the deficit is the fact that projects need expenses. Therefore, we regard the implementation of projects as something that presupposes the existence of a deficit. However, the returns we are hoping for from these projects will have an impact on the national economy. They will stimulate the national economy and increase local production. This will have a positive effect on the state budget in the future.

Foreign Currencies

[Question] It's been noticed recently that foreign currencies have disappeared from the markets. A ban has been placed on sending foreign currency outside Yemen by any means other than the Central Bank. Would you please explain the purpose of that measure?

[Answer] As I indicated previously, the state has recently taken a few measures to encourage the national economy and protect local production. These measures manifested themselves in carrying out some regulations in the area of foreign trade. Among those measures is one that goods be imported in accordance with a

previously obtained import permit [issued by] the authorized agencies. This is a normal procedure that is followed in all countries. Unless such a permit is sought before the import process is completed, countries will not be able to regulate their foreign trade in the required manner. Accordingly, they will not be able to encourage local production by preventing harmful competition from foreign products, whether such products are agricultural or industrial. These are the steps that have been taken.

8592
CSO: 4404/179

CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF AFGHANISTAN SITUATION

Paris LE MONDE in French 15-17 Nov 83

[15 Nov 83 pp 1, 7]

[Text] Visiting the Afghan resistance means first making a trip: more than 2,000 kilometers in a country in revolt invaded by the Soviet army, fragmented both geographically and ethnically. One might think that such a visit would be made under harsh, dangerous hush-hush conditions. Such was not the case; paradoxically, Afghanistan is an open, free country in which travel difficulties are attributable more to the terrain and local rivalries than to the aggressiveness of a Soviet army confined to its bases. The danger, intermittent, comes from helicopters covering over the bases and main roads or destroying one to two villages as reprisals for an ambush. The danger also consists of the major, targeted offensives such as the one during which Dr. Augoyard was captured.

The trip presented an amazing kaleidoscope of areas of destruction and exodus, of liberated areas in which life is monotonously normal and even of oases of prosperity stimulated by the war. One thing stands out: neither the Soviets nor the Afghan army, weak and drained, venture beyond a restricted perimeter around the large cities and three paved roads.

The administration, which was never very well organized, collapsed in 1979 and has not been built back up owing to the shortage of government employees and space to administer. Forty percent of the districts do not even have a symbolic government presence. In most of the others, the government's authority extends to the administrative post's machine gun range. Only in 10 to 20 percent of the districts is the post surrounded by a small belt of villages siding with the regime, either by conviction or by self-interest or indifference.

Kabul, overcrowded capital, is a special case, but even there, passive resistance, infiltrations and assassination attempts are increasing, despite a heavy concentration of regime supporters, city dwellers from the very beginning.

What then is the free country like? Initial contact: empty pockets--plain of Zormat or Surkhrud; valley of Helmand; these are deserted villages, ruins of bombarded houses and parched orchards.

But elsewhere (primarily in the center and north), even if many people have left, the major portion of the population has stayed on and is trying to maintain its traditional economic activities: farming, commerce (and even crafts near the towns). The country is neither drained nor depleted.

The war has reactivated old communications networks which had fallen into disuse as a result of the opening of the paved roads. People move about a great deal in Afghanistan at war: fighting men, deserters, refugees, merchants travel back and forth over the country on foot but also in jeeps, trucks and even in buses.

Traffic is heaviest in the border areas and at Hazarajat. Stopover points are dotted with inns which are always full. Private enterprise reigns in the free area.

Driver associations, which have nothing to do with the regime's shadow unions, deal as equals with those in charge of the resistance and probably with government people, too. Trucks loaded with goods pass easily through military roadblocks in return for a small baksheesh which even the Soviets do not turn up their noses at. There, where competition between drivers can be brisk, their associations have set up regulations. So, to go from liberated Hazarajat to Pakistan (15 hours by jeep if all goes well), you can leave from two bazaars: one, Shi'a Hazara, has more customers, for geographical reasons; the other, Sunni Pashto, is an obligatory waypoint from the first one. Both associations have therefore signed an agreement: vehicles depart in groups of two: one driver Shiite and the other Sunnite (which is worthwhile in case of breakdown in the desert). The price is fixed and paid directly to the association office.

Local resistance groups are quite wary of interfering and are satisfied by imposing a tax per vehicle. It is a constant which is found throughout the Afghan resistance: the fighters are reluctant to interfere with economic and social life except in cases of obvious injustice (stockpiling of wheat in times of shortage, for example). This respect for civilian society is explained by the traumatism characterized by the communists' violent and clumsy interventionism (primarily by the Khalq sympathizers) and also by the influence of the Islamic right which satisfies itself with setting the limits in which any transaction is permitted. At all events, none of the sides is strong enough to take over the resistance economy. But this independence in the civilian society is also an asset to the resistance which enjoys great flexibility and enormous capability to adapt itself to circumstances.

A Network of Solidarity

At Hazarajat, which we had believed to be under siege and starved out, bazaars are springing up like mushrooms. Conversely, in the border province of Ghor no trucks have passed through since 1979 and the only bazaar still open is in Soviet hands. It's so bad that peasants take 4 or 5 days to travel on horseback or on foot to stock up at the Hazara bazaars. Kabul merchants, whose sons are threatened by military service, send them there to run the

shop until winter. Everything can be found there: tea, cloth, cigarettes and antibiotics. At Shi'a Hazarajat, this apparent normality seems somewhat weird: the resistants, primarily assembled in the Shura (the "council," moderate and clerical organization), have resumed the habits of the former regime: conscription, soldiers in ragged uniforms, offices (with working hours and one day off a week), taxes, identity cards, etc. To move about as a foreigner, all you need is a letter of introduction, appropriately stamped, and to take the bus. No guides, no escorts. What for, since everything is normal?

Admittedly all that is shaky: all the Soviets have to do is cut the only road leading from Kabul to the center of the country for this whole economy to collapse. All that has to happen is for the bazaars to be regularly bombed (so far they have been attacked only once or twice a year with no tangible results). Prices skyrocket at the slightest rumor. But the Soviets must feed the capital, and they need the foodstuffs and wood sold by the peasants in the bazaars. Economic blockade of the countryside would cost them very dearly in subsidies to supply the city. For balances in this war have been established between the two camps, and it is difficult to say which one is reaping the greatest long-term benefit.

In tribal or remote areas, the resistance has seldom set up a political system for supervising the population. Big landowners, if any, have generally left for Pakistan, as they have everywhere in the country. Power is the hands of the "malek," those village chiefs appointed by consensus, and "white beards." You can move about generally from village to village and be received in the traditional ritual of Afghan hospitality. All you need is to be introduced by people in the previous village.

Here personal ties win out over political considerations even if the population has taken an unambiguous stand in the resistance. Every Afghan feels tied to a community group (the "qawn") which might be a tribe, a clan, a family relationship or a simple village community. This membership brings together a network of solidarity capable of resisting many political hatreds. This was how it was in Ghor where I was able to meet a man whom everyone identified as an obvious government agent: traveling from village to village under pretext of trade, he made propaganda on behalf of the government for which he had officially worked until last year. One resistance group had tried to kill him, but the "qawn" had said that his death in battle would not be considered an insult but executing him in his own territory would involve, on the other hand, the duty to avenge him, becoming one of those vendettas which the resistance is trying at all costs to avoid. The man is therefore free. But there again, the game goes both ways, and the resistance often profits from information supplied by government people, even convinced communists, who will warn their group of anything threatening them.

In these traditional areas, the weight of the notables is generally greater than that of religious people and justice more often is forthcoming from the "jirga" (council of "white beards," all adult men) than from "qazi" (religious judges). But let's not conclude from this that traditional Afghan society

has found out how to adapt to a long and unspectacular war. More precise research into the sides in the resistance, their settlements and how they wage war shows that wherever the resistance is most effective, society has undergone a clearcut evolution, characterized especially by the emergence of young and new Islamic cadres at the very moment when the Soviets, abandoning all policy of "bolshevizing" the countryside, are building their pacification policy on the mechanisms of traditional society, as the British did in the 19th century.

II. Holy War

[16 Nov 83 p 4]

[Text] Afghan resistance conceives of its fight more in terms of a "holy war" (jihad) than in terms of a war of national liberation. In a country where reference to the nation is quite recent, where the state is viewed as outside society and where allegiance belongs to the community group, Islam remains the only common reference to all Afghans. It is only in the Pashto tribal areas in the south and in emigration that ideologies of the secular sort play a role (nationalism and liberalism). That can be explained, for these very tribes are at the origin of the Afghan state. Their leaders ("khan" and "malek") hold themselves aloof from religious institutions, and their power rests on the tribal code (pashtunwali), completely different from Moslem law (shari'at). Furthermore, the "mollahs" (Moslem priests) have little prestige in tribal areas.

For the other ethnic groups (Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek), on the other hand, and for the more or less detribalized Pashtos (Kabul area, Nangarhar), Islam inspires the political ideology of the resistance.

If this began locally and spontaneously (long before the Soviet invasion), the need for political groups made itself quickly felt. This initially involved optimizing the distribution of weapons and providing a minimum of logistics. Then, the parties provided some training personnel and relative leap-frogging of the local divisions. The so-called "Pesahawar" factions show rather well the variety of ideological options indeed, of personal allegiances which make up the texture of Afghan political life. None is a creation of the Pakistani government, very mindful, in addition, of maintaining the diversity of Afghan political representation so as to avoid the emergence of a Palestinian-type organization or an Afghan government in exile.

Islamists and Traditionalists

Groups in the resistance can be divided into Muslims and traditionalists. The former existed long before the communist coup d'etat and had cadre descended from the modernist intelligentsia (but influenced by the Muslim brotherland). These cadres joined the domestic resistance beginning in 1980 and settled in the non-tribal and Persian-speaking areas in the north. The prototype is Major Mas'ud of Panjshir. Few in number, they are effective and have supplanted the notables.

The traditionalist parties were set up after the coup d'etat of April 1978, around networks of personal allegiances. They brought together the former regime's "establishment," tribal notables and the traditionalist clergy trained in non-governmental religious schools. They are installed primarily in Pashto tribal areas (southern part of the country). The Shiites, grouped in the center of Afghanistan, have autonomous groups, but the same splits can be found there. The anti-Soviet left is not represented militarily except in Nimruz Province.

The alliances in the field do not necessarily correspond to those in Peshawar. In fact, since 1981, the factions have consolidated their establishment. Relations between them are good everywhere, except between the radical Islamists on the one hand (the Hezb-e Islami Party of Hekmatyar for the Sunnites and the Nasr for the Shiites), because of their desire for hegemony, and all the other factions, on the other hand, be they Islamists like the Jamiat or traditionalists like the Harakat-e Engelab. About half the Hezb-e Islami commanders are responsible for 90 percent of the clashes within the resistance. Hot spots, in this regard, are Maydan, near Kabul, Ghazni and Maymanah.

In the Islamist areas we are witnessing an evolution in traditional society with the weakening of the former notables and the emergence of young intellectuals and modernist ulema. Justice is ensured there by "qazi" (religious judges), which allows them to set aside certain rights without interference from the resistance forces.

Owing to the fact that they are real factions with a logistics set up (insufficient) a propaganda and organization apparatus ("dawat o'tanzim") [attracting and organizing], cultural committees and a military apparatus distinct from the civilian organization, the Muslim groups are more effective in general than the traditionalist parties, federations of notables more than militant organizations. One finds this diversity in their military operations.

Folklore and Horror

Two English journalists and I were present at an "attack" on a government post. The resistance commander suggested that we choose a time best suited for taking pictures. After two hours of confused firing, the Mujahidin withdrew quietly, all unscathed. One month later, quite far from there, I talked with a man in civilian clothes, on a Mujahidin committee. He questioned me about the attack: "Did you like it? Were the pictures good? What do you think of Commander X? A swell guy, isn't he?" I asked him if he belonged to the group in question. "Not really. I am an army officer and second-in-command of the post. Today I am on leave with my family but I'm going back there tomorrow." Well, the attack? "You see, to give ammunition to the Mujahidin, how much ammunition they use and therefore the attack itself must be proved. So we get organized and of course insofar as possible combine it with a visit by journalists. For pictures it's the same and less dangerous." You don't desert? "Alas, the resistants don't want me to."

But there are other war stories. Panjshir, for example. Two offensives waged by 10,000 men in 1982 and preceded by systematic destruction of villages and crops. Soviet troops heliborne in the space of a few hours to about 10 different points. The resistants fought for 3 weeks without means of communications and in ignorance of what was going on just a few kilometers away. Then the retreating Soviets shut themselves off in two small bases behind enormous minefields. And there was the pitiful procession toward Pakistan of all the crippled and amputees.

The war, then, provides that diversity between folklore and horror. In fact, when the military operations map is laid out, it may be seen that the Soviets have two targets. First, acquiring a strategic corridor from Amu Darya to Pakistan: This is the Mazar-i-Sharif-Kabul-Jalalabad axis. There they have most of their troops, two of their three main bases (Kalagay and Bagram), their best units and, oddly, a string of small posts. Major operations are concentrated in this area as well as destructive actions and massive reprisals (such as the village of Istalef recently). The best resistance leaders are also located there.

The second target, longer range, is to set up a forward defense relative to Iran which concerns the Soviets much more than Pakistan. Since the arrest of Tudeh members in the spring, the Soviet press has not stopped denoucning Iranian infiltrations in the western part of the country. The sealing off of Herat is apparently a response to this threat (exaggerated insofar as I've been able to judge), and the Sindand base makes no sense except in the context of a conflict near the Persian Gulf.

In all the rest of the country the war is entrusted to the government army, infiltrated and ineffective, except in Paktya.

Shortage of Heavy Equipment

The resistants are therefore waging two different kinds of war depending on what they are dealing with. The level of fighting spirit of the resistance is not directly linked to weaponry. Even if the quantity of weapons has increased and is better distributed, there is no qualitative improvement. Individual weaponry is good, at times even abundant, but heavy equipment is in short supply. There are no antiaircraft weapons beyond heavy machine guns; the few SAM-7's available are unused owing to the shortage of crews trained to use them. Artillery is limited to old recoilless cannon and mortars lacking competent crews. The low level of technical qualifications in the resistance clearly shows that it is insufficiently trained.

Tactics and military organization set the various resistance commanders apart from each other. The spontaneous concept of war among the Afghans is compulsory military service for all, lack of differentiation as to assignments and the egalitarian distribution of weapons between villages and community groups without regard for strategic considerations. The purpose of war is taking up arms and not attrition of the enemy. Such a concept is all right for holding the ground opposite government forces but does not allow them

to deal with a well mounted offensive. Men and weapons are concentrated in quiet areas and sometimes remain unused for months: we are witnessing a veritable "garrison syndrome," which is paradoxical for resistance fighters.

But, we are seeing new military concepts emerge among Muslim intellectuals: specialization of troops in mobile attack groups, full-time and well equipped on the one hand, and less well-equipped, part-time defensive groups on the other. This method is effective for ambushes. But to move to the level of operations coordinated from several mobile groups, it isn't enough to be a good tactician, one must have political control over fairly vast areas and be able to impose uncontested leadership there. There are not four resistance "generals" who are committed along these lines: Mas'oud remains the prototype. The future belongs to them if they don't get themselves killed and if they happen to overcome the splintering of Afghan society. This is more of a political than military problem. Moreover it lies within a more political approach to the counterguerrilla operations which the Soviets are committed to.

III. Pacification or Sovietization?

[17 Nov 83 p 6]

[Text] With the invasion of December 1979 it was clear that the Soviet army was not made to fight against an essentially peasant resistance. Its primary objective was the neutralization of the Hafizullah Amin communist regime and not the reconquest of the countryside. The Soviets expected simple sporadic uprising doomed to fail. In any case, the Soviet army, heavy, armored, centralized, was conceived for sustained frontal assault, not for counterguerrilla warfare.

A thousand examples confirm the failure of this army to adapt and the erosion of troop morale. Pilots remain at high altitude when they expect to encounter machine guns of however doubtful effectiveness. The soldiers are not very aggressive and hesitate to leave their armored vehicles; they plan the black market, swap bullets and even rifles for hashish and food. Drug addition increases and heroin, supplied by the same laboratories of the tribal areas which now flood Pakistan (and therefore the USA), has just made its appearance. Even if there are few real prisoners of war, in the sense of the Geneva conventions, and few politically motivated deserters, we did witness an increase in the number of desertions and occasional captures of soldiers, a little lost, often drug-addicted and whom no one wanted, not the resistance, not the Westerners, not the Red Cross, and not, it would seem, the Soviet government.

The Soviet army has admittedly made progress in the last 3 years; use of heliborne troops, increased mobility, reduced reliance on tanks, night ambushes, etc. But this tactical progress hardly counts for much in the overall conduct of the war. It sometimes results from simple common sense which has seemed in short supply for 3 years: not until last spring did convoys from Panjshir, earmarked for the resistance and passing less than 2 kilometers

from the strongest Soviet base (Bagram), come under shelling from that base. But regular massacres of villagers and blind shellings are not enough to define a strategy.

After the major operations of 1981-1982, of which Panjshir primarily bore the brunt, strictly military activity diminished somewhat in 1983. The ascent of Mr. Andropov to power confirmed an already perceptible trend: the army doesn't make war (has it ever?), the KGB does. The Soviets want to neutralize the resistance by political action, and such action involves two areas: long-term Sovietization and short-term participation. Sovietization consists of absorbing into the Soviet way of life, elements which have already moved out of the culture of Afghan society while in fact annexing the country. Pacification consists of neutralizing combatant groups one by one by dividing them and inducing them to lay down their arms, all the while playing on the traditional structures of Afghan society.

Dispatches from Moscow

Sovietization occurs through the communist party and satellite organizations: youth, women's, union movements. Youths are sent (at times as young as 12 years old) for more or less long-term training in the USSR (25,000 Afghans are there now). Marxism, compulsory, is taught 3 hours a week in all schools in Kabul. Organizations forms, terminology, even clothes are borrowed directly from "big brother."

This propaganda touches only a small fringe of modernized urban youth which supports Marxism more out of fascination with something modern within range of its grasp than by ideological conviction. More disturbing is absorption into the [illegible]. Apparent authority in the ministries is in the hand of high-ranking Afghan officials, but the key posts are held by Russians (Moslem Soviet [illegible] subordinates, except for culture).

All military, political and economic questions are handled directly by Moscow: [illegible] of the war, diplomacy, ministerial appointments: the dispatches [illegible] Moscow decide everything because apparently since Safronchouk's departure there has not longer been a Soviet "proconsul" in Kabul. Economic exploitation is well underway: all gas goes to the USSR, a second bridge over the Amu-Darya is under construction, the agreement for the creation of a joint [illegible] has been signed and what remains of mines and factories is directly subordinated to the Soviets.

Cultural questions, on the other hand, are "subcontracted" to the Soviet Muslims, [illegible]. Mr. Kaiumov, director of the Tashkent Academy of Sciences, [illegible] has a mandate to supervise life in the Soviet Afghan [illegible] "[illegible]" of Soviet Uzbeks, specialized in Pashtu translations [illegible] the Ulema Department of the Afghan Education Ministry. And moreover, [illegible] everything to keep the maximum number of Afghan students in Tashkent, [illegible] Moscow's disapproval.

But if political and economic integration are progressing slowly, Sovietization is not reaching the countryside. The communist party is drained and torn apart; so-called mass organizations are shadows except for the Fatherland Front and the militiamen, which do not exactly come under the policy of Sovietization but of Pacification.

Just one service operates properly in the Afghan state apparatus: the "Khad" (state intelligence service). Copied after the KGB and run by it, the "Khad," headed by Dr. Najibullah, has its own network nationwide and also acts through the department of tribal affairs of the Ministry of Tribes and Nationalities.

Colonial Tradition

Members of Khad operate in the areas where they are from, playing upon ethnic, tribal and family solidarities. The technique is simple: they reinforce the traditional splintering of Afghan society into antagonistic solidarity groups so as to split the resistance. Then they negotiate ceasefires with local armed groups which they turn against their neighbors, without demanding the slightest ideological allegiance from them. These groups, secretly won over at first, then become militia units ("patriots" in the regime's jargon), armed by the government. When a clean sweep has been made, they progressively reintroduce the state apparatus.

So that these groups will maintain their cohesion, since ideological support is never involved, they must remain under the supervision of the traditional notables and fight on the spot. The notables are then regrouped into the Fatherland Front (Jabhe-ye padarwatan) which passes out emoluments and sinecures in the best British colonial tradition.

Using the notables is all the more necessary since neither the Soviet army nor the KGB has an indigenous affairs officer corps. The Afghan party and army are likewise quite incapable of supplying motivated leadership to the militia who have been won over. The rare Soviet officers speaking Persian or Pashto fluently do not leave the provincial headquarters, and Soviet officers of Muslim origin are kept in subordinate roles owing to lack of reliability. But this reinforcement of the notables role has one major drawback: the abandonment of all reference to agrarian reform, to elimination of illiteracy, to women's liberation and to the advancement of youth. In short, Pacification conflicts with Sovietization. The Khad, thus the KGB, [illegible] the opposite of what a communist party is supposed to do.

Another drawback is that the increased splintering of society can be turned against its authors. A notable's authority is based on his network of supporters, inevitably opposed to another one. The winning over of one group [illegible] from reinforcing a rival group's support for the resistance.

[illegible] the gains in adherents are always reversible. A unit of militiamen [illegible] on its own ground and led by its notables, remains deeply anchored in [illegible] society. This reversibility has been noted by Soviet journalists [illegible] "Red Star" of last 29 July which described the winning

over of a leader of the Hezb-e Islami d'Hekmatyar at Mirbachakot near Kabul (the story is authentic, probably involving Commander Malang) was concerned about the fragility of such a turnaround.

Limits of Pacification, then, appear quickly, despite local successes in the periphery of the big cities and along the main routes (such as the area of Pol-e Khumri). But the weakness of the government army and the reluctance of the Soviets to leave their refuges leave the militiamen exposed. Generally speaking they fight well, better than the army, until they have their backs to the wall. But then they slip back into the resistance with their weapons and equipment, as was recently observed around the government base of Khost when the militiamen from the Mandozay and Ismailkhayl clans changed sides during the violent Mujahidin summer offensives. To keep them in the Soviet camp, it would be ncessary to provide them with a better ideologically motivated leadership and to protect them militarily in case of attacks.

Here we see again the two weaknesses of the Soviet army in Afghanistan: the absence of local networks of activist supporters and shortage of manpower, too static in addition.

Impact of Islam

The Soviet perceive of Afghan society, as the British did in the 19th century, as a tribal society. Their colonial policy is well adapted to achieve the winning over of small groups, but falls short in getting larger groups to break away. The reason is that they have been neglecting the impact of Islam which supplies Islamist cadre in the resistance with a political ideology capable, for better or for worse, of overcoming the splintering of traditional society. That is why the ceasefire between the Soviets and Commander Mas'oud in the Panjshir never had anything to do with a winning over, as the Soviets believed and hoped. This time we are no longer dealing with a notable but with a political leader capable of carrying out tactical withdrawals, who thinks out the problems of the war in broader terms and who bases his support on a faction and not on a solidarity group. The Afghan resistants are no longer the Basmachis of Soviet Turkestan of the 1920's.

The trap that Afghanistan has always been for the Russians, the unchanging policy of integration of the country into the USSR and the terminology used by the Soviets (Afghanistan is a country "moving toward socialism," which places it right after the countries in the socialist bloc, before Nicaragua, Angola and Ethiopia), all leaves little doubt about the intentions of the USSR to not leave the country. Along these lines the noisy to-do over the negotiations in Geneva is silly.

But the stubbornness of the Afghan resistance, its political as well as military dynamism and deep-seated rejection of the Soviet system by the whole population demonstrate sufficiently that Afghanistan will be nothing like Turkestan, Mongolia and Poland. The empire is expanding but the more it expands the more fragile it becomes. In spite of all those who would like to see the business over with, we haven't heard the last of Afghanistan.

Factions in the Resistance

Here are the main groups taking part in the Afghan resistance, classified by category:

SUNNI FACTIONS

Hezb-e Islami--radical Islamist, leadership by intellectuals from the government academic network.

Another Hezb-e Islami faction of moderate leanings is likewise led by traditional Ulema from the private schools.

Jamiat-e Islami--moderate Islamist, with the same leadership as the two foregoing factions, to which may be added Ulema from government religious schools and members of religious brotherhoods from the West.

Harakat-e Enqelab--traditionalist, led by mollahs and ulema from non-government religious schools and by tribal cadre.

Jabhe-ye Melli-ye Nejad--traditionalist, tribal cadre and members of religious brotherhoods in the Kabul area.

Mahaz-e Islami-e--royalist, led by tribal leaders and notables from the former regime.

SHIITE FACTIONS

Nasr--radical Islamist, led by young men educated in Iran and by a radical group from the clergy trained in Iran.

Shora Ye Ettefaq--traditionalist, led by members of the clergy and of the Sayyed caste (descendants of the prophet).

Harakat-e Islami--moderate Islamist, led by young educated men from the cities.

CSO: 4619/7

WESTERN MEDIA ACCUSED OF DOUBLE STANDARDS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 Dec 83 p 8

[Text] KARACHI, Nov. 30--Muazzam Ali Advisor to the President on National Press today said contrary to the general impression the western media's coverage of Islam and the Muslim World was biased, hostile and tendentious. He was speaking on "Western media and the Muslim World", at a function organised by the Motamar Forum here.

He said, he had no hesitation in saying that the western media has no moral ethics and pursued double standards. "It deliberately maligns and ridicules Islam and the Muslim World. It seldom misses an opportunity to undermine the confidence and sow seeds of dissensions in the Muslim nation," he said.

He further pointed out that the role of western media was also inseparable from the Western world. View conditioned by historical legacies prejudices and cultural norms which were, more often than not equated with accepted patterns of civilised conduct.

This ethnocentricity and a rather blatant double standard in portrayal of events was prominently reflected in western media reporting of issues concerning the Muslims.

Among them are Iran's Islamic Revolution, Pakistan's nuclear programme and the Arab-Israeli conflict including the Palestinian issue.

In the ultimate analysis, he maintained, the role of western media could not be divorced from the broader policy towards the Muslim World and the west's inability to develop a rapport with an assertive Muslim World that was determined to bury the legacy of the colonial past.

In this connection, he said, the late King Faisal's resolute opposition to Zionism and his initiation of the oil embargo against western supporters of Israel during the night of the 1973 October War was a turning point in international politics, demonstrating for the first time the Muslim World's capacity to use its precious resources--oil as an instrument to achieve political objectives.

Muazzam Ali also dealt at length on the ownership pattern of western media and the influence of multinationals and the Zionists. He said 80 per cent of the British Press was owned or controlled by a few multinationals and 6 of the 9 British national daily newspapers had ultimate control vested in a person, family or trust.

Apart from ownership, the cultural and political belief systems of editorial staffs' also played important role in the media's policy on different issues. Such a tilt was clearly reflected in the American media. "It is no accident that the American media, by and large, orchestrates an easily discernible pro-Israeli, anti-Islamic bias with a consistency which is appalling", he said.

He said the 'New York Times', the 'Washington Post', 'Time', 'Newsweek', the 'New Republic (Ostensibly a 'Liberal' weekly).; U.S. News' and 'World Report' (a 'Conservative' weekly), the 'International Herald Tribune', etc. all happen to be partly or wholly Zionist-owned or have Zionists in leading editorial positions.

A balanced view of the Arab-Israeli conflict is thus sadly lacking he added.

Muazzam Ali said an idea of the Zionist domination of the media could be had from the fact that in the U.K. the chairman of the BBC, and the Press Council were Zionists Jews. Besides, Lord Herrstern of Grenada T.V., and Lord Widerfield, a major publisher, were all Zionists Jew who migrated to the U.K. from Eastern Europe.

Apart from newspapers, radio and T.V. the Zionists control major advertising, printing unions and distribution agencies. This gives them total control of the media of communication.

CSO: 4600/197

SLUM IMPROVEMENT: NEGOTIATIONS FOR WORLD BANK HELP UNDER WAY

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 83 p 14

[Text]

LARKANA, Nov 30: For providing necessary facilities to the Kutchi Abadis of Sind, negotiations are under way with the World Bank which desires to extend help for the uplift of Kutchi abadis in backward and remote areas, said the Sind Governor Lt-Gen. S.M. Abbasi, while speaking at a reception hosted by the Chairmen of District Council and Municipal Committee, Larkana, here at the Irrigation Rest House today.

The World Bank wants to take up either one entire area or all Kutchi Abadis for the provision of basic amenities of life. However, Sind has decided to give a share to all districts from such offers, he said.

About waterlogging and salinity problem the Governor said, in this regard much has already been done and more is in progress and with the completion of various schemes the problem would be partially solved. He added that by the end of this year 21 villages of Larkana would get electricity at a cost of Rs 41.47 million.

Both the chairmen presented to the Governor the key of the city and symbol of the city, respectively. A Sindhi turban was also presented to the Governor.

APP adds: He said the policy of the present Government was to associate the people with the working of the Government functionaries in development activities. He listed a number of steps taken by the Government in this regard, such as, Crops boards, Crime Control committees, Hospital Management boards and Provincial Education Council in the province.

He said a Provincial Agricultural Research Board had recently been formed to streamline coordination among various agricultural research institutions so as to bring the benefits of their research to the growers effectively.

Lt-Gen. S.M. Abbasi said that the Government had been paying more attention to the development of less developed areas in the province so as to bring them at par with other developed areas.

He said, in Larkana district, a record sum of Rs 137.67 crore had been spent on development projects during the fifth Five-Year Plan period.

He announced a special grant of Rs 10 lakh for District Council, Larkana, from the reserved fund of Provincial Government to carry out the development work.

He also announced a grant of Rs five lakh for Municipal committee, Larkana.

Earlier, the Chairman of District Council, Larkana, Mr Masood Ahmed Khumro and Chairman, Larkana Municipal Committee, Mr Qurban Ali Abbasi, presented the address of welcome.

CSO: 4600/196

CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER UMAR ASGHAR'S DISMISSAL

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 4

[Text]

LAHORE, Dec. 3: Prof. A.N.D. McAuley, Chairman, Department of Economics, University of Essex, has addressed a letter to the Pakistan Ambassador in the United Kingdom expressing his grave concern over the action taken against Mr. Omar Asghar Khan by the Punjab University and the Martial Law Administration.

In his letter, a copy of which he has sent to the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, Prof. McAuley has registered his protest "against the persecution to which one of our former students, Omar Asghar Khan, has been subjected over the past year or so."

Maintaining that Mr. Omar Khan was one of the best and brightest students from Pakistan to have studied in the University, Prof. McAuley has asked the Ambassador to convey to the Pakistan Government" the grave concern that we feel about the apparent erosion of academic freedom that this case betokens."

Meanwhile, Begum Amina Asghar Khan, wife of Tehrik chief, in a statement has strongly condemned the action taken against three teachers of Quaid-i-Azam University (seven years' R.I.) and the action taken against three teachers of the Punjab University including Omer Asghar Khan, dismissed under MLR-51.

Referring to the protest day observed by University teachers all over the country today, she said that it was a sad reflection on "our nation-building institutions that intellectuals, be they writers, poets, journalists or teachers, are persecuted for their views."

POLITICAL STALEMATE: PROSPECTS FOR 1984 ANALYZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 Dec 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Will 1984 Be The Year of Decision?"]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Nov. 30--With the MRD agitation having tapered off, the regime has surmounted its most serious internal political threat. When the movement started with an intensity which surprised most observers, the question that was being asked was whether this was the "spark which could start the prairie fire". The government responded with its characteristic "do nothing" strategy which stems from a rather paternalistic assumption of allowing people to "let off steam". This implies a somewhat selective use of force on specific targets, without over-reacting.

The government was also helped by a couple of factors. Firstly, barring Sindh, the MRD failed to "take off" in the rest of Pakistan. Punjab, Baluchistan and the Frontier Provinces remained calm except for the courting of arrests or the attempt made by Lahore lawyers to mobilise masses. Popular participation of the kind evident in Sindh was visibly absent in other parts of Pakistan. The movement acquired the character of "Sindhi agitation", linked to specific grievances of the people there. It did not assume the role of a mass national movement. Secondly, Mrs. Gandhi came to the rescue of the regime by her statements in support of the agitation. The issue of restoration of democracy was relegated to the background and that of Indian interference in our internal affairs came to the forefront.

In the process the government's own hardline was also modified. It started talking to the politicians, whom it had despised and treated with contempt in the past. This included the first public contact with a MRD leader, namely, the Presidential representative's meeting with Air Marshal Asghar Khan in Abbottabad.

The government also seems to have been sensitive to the specific Sinhi aspects of discontent and it has started taking certain measures to alleviate the deep sense of deprivation that exists in that province. There has been a sudden spurt of promotions of selected Sindhi officers as also immediate recruitment of 32 young Sindhis from rural Sindh who had passed the CSS competitive examination but failed to get positions in the Federal Government. PTV has also been active in screening "development in Dadu" sort of programmes which are

meant to emphasise the regime's interest in progress in Sindh. Overtures have also been made to the eminent Sindhi intellectual and leader of the Sindhi Awami Tehrik--a key vanguard of the recent agitation--Rasul Bux Palejo, whose life in Kot Lakhpat Jail in Lahore has been made slightly more comfortable. Recently, the President also received Dr. Hameeda Khuhro, one of the leading exponents of Sindhi nationalism, for an exclusive 90-minute meeting.

On the political front, the situation is distressing in that a new complacency has set in and necessary sense of urgency is sadly lacking. Even in Sindh, the government should have healed the wounds of the past rather than launching punitive operations in rural areas to flush out "dacoits and miscreants" which could lead to alienation of the Sindhi masses. Any resource to punish those Waderas of Sindh who took part in the anti-regime protests would be counter-productive.

Power-Sharing

The basic question that needs to be answered is whether after the recent agitation, the regime's assessment of the situation has changed to such an extent that it is no more determined to "go it alone" in running this country as it has done in the last 6-1/2 years. Visible indicators point to a reply in the negative. For a military regime like the incumbent one, there are basically three options on the political front: either to maintain the status-quo, or to opt for power-sharing or to transfer power to an elected civilian regime. The last option practically does not exist, as in our country there is no tradition of a voluntary exit from high office, since even civilian politicians in Pakistan have been reluctant to part with power. It seems to be a tall task for an institution like the army, which has a big stake in our power structure.

As the regime itself must have understood by now, the present status-quo is unacceptable to a large section of the population and that is one reason why the President himself made his August 12 announcement for a phased return to civilian rule. This being the case, the question is whether the regime is willing to share power with acceptable politicians and political parties, which it has strongly resisted to date. Thus the issue is not of transfer of power but of power-sharing, which the regime is not prepared to do so even with its ideological allies.

Despite public statements to the contrary, there is little evidence on the ground to provide a sufficient basis for optimism that 1984 will in fact be the year of national elections of any kind, whether on party or non-party basis. The political dialogue which began with the JUP has remained a non-starter. In fact, it has become the proverbial "dialogue of the deaf". After the JUP fiasco, the JUI said 'No' to talks, while the Jamat-e-Islami and the Pagara Muslim League went along for discussions. Later we started hearing of "in-depth serious discussions" with such entities as the Progressive People's Party, the Gharib Awam Party and the Pakistan Progressive Party!

While the President's meetings with the Election Commission are widely publicised by a news-hungry media, there is again little evidence of ground

preparation for any sort of elections in the second half of 1984. Additionally, if elections are to be held, under what constitutional framework would they be? The 1973 Constitution is still "in abeyance'. The Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) has no provision for any elections, while the President's August 12 announcement is not a legal document under which elections can be held by the Election Commission. It is merely an expression of intent. Then other reports that filter out of the Federal Capital speak of high level meetings which devote hours in preparing and vetting lists of new members of the Majlis-e-Shoora, as if this was of the highest priority in November 1983!

'WRA Factor'

When two parties in business negotiate some agreement, their assessment of each other's intentions is based on what is called the "WRA factor". WRA stands for the Willingness, Readiness and Ability of either party to go through an agreement. The evidence so far points to a minus "WRA factor" in the context of holding elections of any kind in 1984. In this regard, the regime is as aware of certain home-truths as others are. When it comes to the brass-tacks, the issue boils down to the PPP versus the regime. Additionally, whether it likes it or not, the regime is a party to the polls and its role is not that of a 'referee' as was claimed in July 1977. What has changed since July 1977 is that with so many false starts and failure to deliver on what was promised, those who were the regime's potential allies then are no more willing to hold its hands.

For future developments, it would be in the interest of both the government and the country if certain factors were kept in mind. Firstly, that Sind has been a major warning signal which should be heeded and not dismissed out of hand as a simple expression of discontent from "disgruntled elements" of a certain area. The government should not take solace from popular apathy in the rest of Pakistan as such attitudes can also mark indifference to the State as a whole. It undermines its ability to ward off foreign interference and intervention. In the same context, it needs to be clearly understood that a foreign policy can be effective only when it operates from a secure domestic base. A strong external policy cannot prop up a weak domestic base, although a strong domestic base can certainly strengthen the promotion of external relations. Secondly, the regime needs to learn lessons from its fellow ruling khaki brethren in Turkey and Bangladesh. In Turkey, after great screening so as to ensure "positive results" in elections when practically only the "yes" and the "yes sir" parties remained, even then the "yes sir" party lost. But Gen. Evren wisely accepted the election result because he had already assured the Turkish army a role in the national power structure and his own position within that. Then the unrest in Bangladesh after Gen. Ershad's announcement of a return to democratic rule indicates that politically-conscious people can stand up to attempts by authority to perpetuate itself. The key aspect in both situations is timing as well as the response to pressure from below. Lastly, the regime should not take for granted the American connection and Washington's commitment to the status-quo. After all, Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger, himself was quoted as saying on his arrival in Islamabad in October that "we have to look to alternatives" in response to a question on the political situation in Pakistan. The American

interest is in preservation of political stability which is seen as serving its own interests in Pakistan as well as the region. There is no reason to doubt that most of the MRD parties are not averse to the American connection. A majority of the Pakistani political elite, whether inside or outside the government, is politically pro-American and as the track record shows, there is no steadfast Super-Power commitment to either personalities or policies.

Having been firmly in the saddle for the last six and a half years, the regime has obtained yet another breather and more time. It should utilise this to get cracking on holding national elections in 1984 rather than to wait for the next bubble to burst.

CSO: 4600/197

REPATRIATION OF BIHARIS OPPOSED

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, a former Vice-Chancellor of the Sind University, said in a statement yesterday that "Sindhi leaders of all shades of opinion are opposed to the importation of Biharis in Pakistan."

He pointed out that Pakistan was already grappling with the problem of Afghan refugees and it would not be proper to make Pakistan "a cess-pool of sociological maladjustment" by bringing in persons who are in "a state of sociological and cultural bitterness."

He said Lord Ennal's visit to Pakistan in connection with the repatriation of Biharis was part of the "American and international Jewish conspiracy."

"Let Lord Ennels clean up his own house in England," before he interferes in other's affairs," he added.

Mr. Qamar Bhatti, a leader of the Jeay Sind Tehrik, has asked Lord Ennels (who is on a visit to Pakistan in connection with the repatriation of stranded Pakistanis in Bengladesh) that he better "go back home."

In a statement, he said if Lord Ennels was so sympathetic of the lot of 'Biharis' in Bangladesh, he should help rehabilitate them in his home country, the U.K.

The Sindhis would not tolerate any move whereby they (Sindhis) become a minority in their land of birth, he added.

CSO: 4600/196

COMPLAINT OVER POLITICAL PARTY'S ROLE IN LOCAL ELECTIONS

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 4

[Excerpt]

Mr. Hussain Haroon has appealed to the Government to take notice of involvement of a defunct political party in the local bodies affairs.

Addressing a Press conference on Saturday evening, he said the local bodies elections were held on non-party basis and this should be saved from politics.

He alleged that receptions were being arranged in honour of the Mayor with the object of campaigning in favour of a defunct political party. He cited the example of such meeting held on Friday in his constituency and said certain leaders of a defunct political were present there.

He also distributed copies of photographs among the newsmen showing some office-bearers of a defunct political party present at Friday's reception.

He said defunct political parties might interfere in the provincial and national assembly elections even if they were held on non-party basis.

He appealed to the Government to set certain amount for the development of each constituency in the city.

He suggested that octroi duty on eatables should be abolished to reduce prices.

He also suggested that a Rs. 10 billion special development plan should be chalked out for Sind. He said problems of waterlogging and salinity be tackled on priority basis in Sind and the government lands be distributed only among the local farmers of the province. He said he had made these suggestions during the Majlis-i-Shoora meeting also.

CSO: 4600/199

NOORANI OPPOSES RIGHTIST ALLIANCE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] KARACHI, Nov. 28--Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani has reiterated his party-s stand that any rightist alliance will further complicate the present situation in the country instead of resolving it.

When contacted here today he said that efforts were being made to include his party in the PML-JI negotiations for a rightist alliance, but "our stand in this connection is clear and unambiguous: a rightist alliance will lead to civil war in the country," he added.

He said that the present regime was repeating the same mistakes committed by Gen. Yahya. "They don't want to part with power and that would definitely lead the country to disintegration", he apprehended.

He predicted that the next party to join the PML-JI alliance would by Maulana Kausar Niazi's Progressive People's Party.

The JUP chief said that the effort is concentrated on keeping the People's Party out of power. "Our stand is that we want elections under 1973 Constitution and let the people decide whom they want to bring into power. It is their right."

Maulana Noorani's analysis of the situation is that the government wants to hold provincial assemblies elections and then those of the Senate and the National Assembly. "The assembly will be at the mercy of the President. In case of a decision against his wishes, he will have the right to dissolve it. The decision of eight crore Pakistanis will be altered by an individual."

Criticising the present raise in the ghee prices he said "In a democratic state could any one think of such a measure being allowed to go unchallenged". "For this unbridled power they want to hold a partyless election under the August 12 formula," he added.

CSO: 4600/188

PAKISTAN, MALAYSIA SIGN AGREEMENT ON UNIVERSITY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Nov 83 p 3

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov 28 The Federal Minister for Education Dr Mohammad Afzal and Malaysian Minister for Education Datuk Dr Sulaiman bin Haji Daud on behalf of their respective governments signed an agreement pertaining to the financial commitments of the two government for the establishment of the International Islamic University, Malaysia at Islamabad and Malaysia simultaneously on Nov 27, 1983

Under the agreement Pakistan will provide the following assistance to the university

Pakistan will supply books to the International Islamic University worth Rs 1 10 lac each year for five years

The Islamic University, Islamabad will supply all its publications including the publications of the Islamic Research Institute All future publications will also be supplied to the International Islamic University, Malaysia

Pakistan will train five teachers of International Islamic University Malaysia The travel costs will be borne by the government of Malaysia but the local costs will be paid for by the Government of Pakistan This arrangement would be for three years in the first instalment

The Islamic University, Islamabad will provide to this University the services of 3 teachers, for Arabic, Shariah and Dawa The cost of international travel and salaries including overseas allowances of these teachers be borne by the Government of Pakistan The government of Malaysia will provide free residence, medical aid and local travel This arrangement would be for 3 years in the first instance

The Islamic University, Islamabad will accept five students each year The cost of international travel will be borne by Malaysian Government and the local costs will be paid by Pakistan This arrangement would be for five years in the first instance

The International Islamic University, Malaysia and the Islamic University, Islamabad are declared as sister universities Both the universities will sign a separate agreement for common research programmes and exchange of teachers, students and publications

The Government of Malaysia has established an International Islamic University under the aegis of the Organisation of Islamic Conference

An agreement to co-sponsor the International Islamic University of Malaysia was signed in Islamabad on 12th May, 1983.—APP

CSO: 4600/188

ARTICLE [illegible] PAKISTAN SHAKY; PARALLEL WITH EAST BENGAL SEEN

Calcutta SUNDAY in English 27 Nov-3 Dec 83 pp 36, 37

[Article by Tariq Ali: "The Mighty Serpent and the Little Creatures"]

[Text]

Sind has disappeared from the foreign news pages of the Western press. But the genocidal war against the Sindhi population in Pakistan still goes on. Visitors report tales of unbelievable savagery and sadism. A village outside which a truck carrying dozens of soldiers was blown up together with its passengers was punished in the traditional fashion: helicopter gunships strafed the population killing anyone in sight. In the hometown of Bhutto, Larkana, Sindhi patriots have been forced to drink their own urine and eat their own excrement. A Sindhi friend who was on a brief holiday and has now returned told me of this fact with tears in his eyes. "Are you sure?" I asked him at least six times. He looked at me with sadness and anger: "You, of all people, find it unbelievable. They are humiliating us just as they did Bengal." This friend now hates Pakistan.

The poet laureate of the Punjabi masses, Habib Jalib, has written a moving poem. Its strong political message is so apposite that one can forgive him the indifferent literary quality on this occasion. It is a plea to Punjab to shake off its slumbering lassitude:

Wake up, Punjab!
Pakistan is going,
Our dreams lie shattered,
Pakistan is going.
Sind and Baluchistan have long wept alone
And the flower of the Punjab is still fast asleep.

Habib Jalib is the conscience of the Punjabi province. His poem is being distributed clandestinely. It is an indication of the fact that people realise that the die is cast. Pakistan's future is at stake. Lawyers and women have already marched in Punjab, but the common people are still waiting. They know that Sind is suffering. Soon they will act. But the long wait is becoming an agony. The longer Punjab takes to wake up, the more Sindhi nationalism will become moderate. Well over a thousand people have been killed in that province already. The Sindhi poet of old, Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit, whose Urs is celebrated every year, once wrote: "The mighty serpent has declared a war on the little creatures. But you, you snake! You dare not escape, for we have put our foot on your burrow. This is the same multitude which burned down the citadel of Junagadh." Many Sindhis are quoting this saying against Zia. They might lose this particular battle, but it will be a long war.

The army high command is certainly not complacent. They are aware of the fact that even though Sind and Baluchistan remain isolated, Punjab could begin to erupt sooner or later. It is in order to pre-empt a volcanic explosion in that quarter that Zia's unofficial prime minister, General Arif, has started a public dialogue with some of the political parties. It is true that some of these parties are mere cyphers whose influence is limited to the front-rooms of the spacious mansions owned by their leaders. However, Air Marshal Asghar Khan is a different matter. He has been, for many years now, in the opposition. He opposed Ayub, Bhutto and, in recent months, the present regime. In some ways he would make the ideal candidate to organise the transition from military to civilian rule. He has the respect of sections of the armed

forces and is widely regarded as the choice of the US state department. Add to this the fact that he is a decent man, untainted by corruption or the sort of venality common to many politicians and one can see why the more liberal wings of the civil service and the armed services would be prepared to repose their trust in him and his party, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal.

I am on the side of the little creatures. I am confident that they will finally get rid of the serpent. That is why the politicians, especially those of the PPP, must have some ready answers in the event of an election. The first demand of the minorities and, I would add, of many common people of Punjab is that the serpent is finally put to rest in its burrow. The army cannot be tolerated any more. It has to be disbanded. Pakistan can only exist as a de-militarised state consisting of a voluntary federation of Sind, Baluchistan, Pukhtoonistan and Punjab. Popular militias are perfectly capable of defending their regions. In any case there is no military threat to the country from outside. It is the army that threatens the people of Pakistan. If Pakistan's beleaguered people want to end the permanent military threat from within, they have to go the whole way. That is the only guarantee of a future. If there are elections and if the army permits a return to civilian rule, then this will be the politicians' last chance. If they fail, Pakistan will die. If they succeed then the serpent will have to be decapitated. Otherwise to return to Jalib, "rain of fire that has cast a pall of smoke over the garden" will get worse and worse till nothing is left.

There is, however, one problem. The Tehrik does not have anything approaching the mass support enjoyed by the People's Party in Sind or Punjab. It would win some seats, no doubt, but not enough to form a credible administration. Moreover, the air marshal would be confronted with very real political and economic choices the week after he was placed in power (if that became a serious option following the threat of disturbances in Punjab). A failure to come up with solutions that satisfy the people would lead very rapidly to a new cycle of mass protest.

There can be little doubt that the "mighty serpent" is in trouble. What can it do? Here the example of Bangladesh is not irrelevant. The Bengalis demanded autonomy and equal rights. They were refused any real concessions by the Pakistani ruling classes. The result was civil war and the establishment of Bangladesh. I always used to tell Pakistani friends who used the phrase "the secession of Bangladesh" that this was an inaccurate formula. One should really say the "secession of the Pakistani state machine." How can a majority of the population secede from minority? The point I am trying to stress is that geography, distinct cultural and political traditions and demography played a crucial part in the first breakup of Pakistan in 1971.

The present situation is different. Sind and Baluchistan are inhabited by a tiny minority of the [illegible] population. Whether we call them national minorities or [illegible] nationalities or sub-nationals is beside the point. The question is can they of their own volition and with their own strength break away from the militarised state which oppresses them. In purely military terms an independent Baluchistan or a Sindu Desh is a virtual impossibility. Even Bangladesh needed a bit of help from New Delhi. The solution to the national question in Pakistan must perforce be a political one. Yet the Sindhi and Baluch friends ask me why it is impossible for them to receive outside help. They point to the fact that Zia and his clique of generals have little support inside the country. They are financed by Arab petro-dollars and are dependent on US military aid. They point to the generals' bases being constructed in Balochistan for the Rapid Deployment Force. They argue that the military have made Pakistan into a mercenary state with US backing. These arguments are, in my view, indisputable. The serpent is mighty because it is financed and armed by a mightier serpent. The "little creatures" certainly have a right to demand help from abroad. My point simply is that to base a [illegible] strategy for social or national liberation that is dependent on foreign support is a serious weakness. It leaves the movement vulnerable. The only viable strategy can be to build alliances with the people of Punjab. If this fails [illegible] of course, to Bangladeshi solution becomes inevitable. As a Sindhi friend asks me: "If the Americans [illegible] why should we not appeal to the Russians or the Indians or anyone else?" Apart from all moral arguments, friends, this [illegible] [illegible] and Punjab. Things of which they are [illegible]

INDIAN AMBASSADOR TALKS ABOUT IMPROVING RELATIONS, OFFERS SIX-POINT PACKAGE

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Nov 83 p 16

[Text] India has, inter alia, proposed a six-point package deal for consideration of the various Sub-Commissions (appointed under the Ministerial-level Joint India-Pakistan Commission) "to give meaningful, practical content" to relations between India and Pakistan.

Stating this at the Karachi Press Club's "meet-the-Press" forum on Tuesday the Indian Ambassador in Pakistan, Mr K.D. Sharma, listed the following proposed measures:

—Re-opening of the Khokhrapar-Munabao land route together with discarding the practice of personal police reporting in case of short-duration visits.

—An India-Pakistan tourism protocol, with the Indian Government willing to release [illegible] dollars (50) per person for each tourist visits pending for Pakistan's reciprocal measure.

—A [illegible] Agreement, envisaging more frequent exchanges between airlines and embassies—"at least to levels which Pakistan has with friendly countries like Turkey, China or the Soviet Union."

—Tested exchange of student groups between the two countries, the latest example being the visit of a group of students from the [illegible] College of Karachi.

—Easier economic and commercial exchanges, with an assurance of non-discriminatory imports from Pakistan and with willingness to substantially pare restrictions on exports from India if considered as damaging to Pakistan's [illegible] industry.

—Exemption from police reporting of the visiting businessmen equipment to [illegible] from [illegible].

Mr Sharma, while conceding there might be "periods up and down" in Indo-Pakistan relations, emphasized the need for commitment to the larger objective of promoting bilateral cooperation in different spheres for the "mutual benefit," of the two neighbourly peoples.

"Notwithstanding the difference of perceptions which may arise between India and Pakistan from time to tome, my Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi and our Government stand deeply committed to the improvement of relations between two countries," he said.

During question-answer session the Indian envoy said the concerned joint Sub-Committee might as well consider the question of smooth flow of information, exchange of journalists' visit, raising the number of correspondents in either country, and exchange of newspapers, periodicals, journals and books between India and Pakistan.

Asked about India's abstention in voting on Afghanistan resolution at the UN, Mr Sharma said it might be due to the wording or interpretation of the resolution. He, however, noted that formulations on the Afghan crisis by India and Pakistan were similar, though perceptions to achieve the objective might be different.

Mr Sharma said the statements by the Indian Government leaders should bread as part of a national debate that continuously went on in India about the geo-political compulsions in the sub-continent and the "security risks" involved therein to India itself. There had been a common feeling in India that geo-political and security environment in the South Asian region had "greatly deteriorated," in recent years due to, what he said, unhelpful measures taken by super-Powers in the region's local affairs.

"The creeping in by certain foreign powers from far away the scene can result in complications which should be avoided for the security and peace of the region," he observed.

Asked about the delay of opening of the Pakistan Consulate-General in Bombay, the Indian envoy said that certain properties to house the Consulate-General had been identified and a month ago Foreign Secretary Rasgotra had written to the Chief Secretary, Maharashtra, to expedite the matter.

He told a questioner that the Joint India-Pakistan Commission, which [illegible] first meeting in June last, was due to meet by the end of December next [illegible] that proposals under study of the various sub-commissions and given a concrete shape would come up for the consideration of the joint Commission.

[illegible]

LEADER CLAIMS PPP LEADERSHIP TURNED AGAINST BHUTTO

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Nov 83 p 8

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 27--Maulana Kausar Niazi President of the Progressive People's Party is reported to have told an Indian journal that Begum Nusrat Bhutto and other leadership of the present People's Party claiming to be champions of Bhutto cause were comfortably sitting in their houses when Bhutto was being hanged.

The interview with Maulana Kausar Niazi was yesterday published by a monthly magazine Delhi Recorder under a splashing headline 'Nusrat conspired against Zulfiqar. The journal's editor Raipal Singh Chaudhry recently visited Pakistan.

Why did not the party leadership give a call to the people to come out in the streets to protest, when the Supreme Court ordered Bhutto's hanging, the Maulana asked.

The Maulana recalled that after the Supreme Court ordered the hanging of Bhutto the party's central leadership met at Islamabad for three full days. He said he did not attend but in a message sent to the party leadership he advised that the exigencies of the situations demanded that a call be given to the people of Pakistan to come out in the streets in protest against the Supreme Court's verdict.

But all the Central Committee could come out with was one measly suggestion that a mercy petition be made to the President. Now what was sense in it, he asked. If the only answer was a mercy petition we should have kept our dialogue with this man (President Zia) open and not followed policy of confrontation with him' he argued.

Maulana Niazi said the High Court proceedings were boycotted and issue was made a political one by the PPP.

Questioned whether Begum Bhutto was a part of this conspiracy Maulana Kausar Niazi said 'of course she herself was conducting the whole thing. She was the political boss as well as head of the legal cell.

Answering another question he said the very people who are today claiming to be the apostles of democracy and champions of Bhutto cause were comfortably sitting in their houses when Bhutto was being hanged.

[illegible]

ITALY SAID KEEN TO HELP IN MAJOR PROJECTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Nov 83 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Nov. 27--Italian Government fully approves and supports the priorities fixed by Pakistan under its Sixth Five-Year Plan and was keen to participate in some of the major economic development projects in the field of agriculture, energy and health. This was stated here by the leader of the 12-member Italian official delegation, Claudio Pacifico. The delegation on a eight-day visit to this country will hold important deliberations with a number of officials belonging to the Agriculture Development Bank, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Planning and Agriculture.

Mr. Pacifico while talking to The Muslim said that though his delegation was a fact finding mission yet it was convinced of the feasibility and viability of the various projects submitted to the Italian Government by Pakistan. He said his country was already extending economic assistance to this country through the Aid-to-Pakistan Club of which Italy was a member and also on bilateral basis. The commitment made by his government during the last one year was of more than 100 million dollars.

Pakistan, he said, was on the top of his country's economic assistance to Asia. We want to assist the country in whatever way possible as we are fully convinced of the development strategy and general guideline of various economic projects included in the country's Sixth Five-Year Plan. He said his delegation which included nine leading industrialists of the country dealing in agro-based industry would also meet the members of Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry to see what type of mutual cooperation could be possible between the two countries in the private sector. Apart from holding negotiations in Islamabad the Italian delegation will also visit Lahore, Gujranwala and Multan.

Mr. Pacifico, who is the head of the Asian department in Italian Foreign Office, explained that the bulk of Italian aid to Pakistan consisted of soft loans and grants. He said his country did not believe in exploiting a developing country through economic assistance. "If we are convinced of the viability and economic feasibility of a project we offer liberal aid and grants for the same and never attach any condition to it except, in case of grants,

that if the projects required foreign expertise of technical know-how the same should be obtained from Italian business concerns and not from other country.

He said after concluding his visit he will submit a report to his government which would be sent to the Italian delegation taking part in the Paris meeting of the consortium being held to consider the projects submitted by Pakistan for a policy commitment of the consortium countries. He maintained that his country's delegation in the consortium meeting would definitely support Pakistan stand as his government was in full agreement with Pakistan's projections in the field of energy and agriculture.

He said Pakistan and Italy stood good chance of enhanced mutual cooperation in the economic field and as a result of the visit of his delegation further progress in this direction will be made. He said he had already had very useful discussions with the officials of the ADBP and was much impressed by the activities of the bank for the development of the agricultural sector in Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/187

EFFECTS OF DROP IN MANPOWER EXPORT DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 2 Dec 83 Supplement p I, II

[Article by Izharul Hasan Burney in "A DAWN Special Report" on the United Arab Emirates: "Exodus of Pakistani Workers"]

[Text] EXODUS of Pakistani expatriate workers from most of the Gulf countries is now underway and the stage has already reached for Islamabad to have a quick reappraisal of its manpower export policy for this region in particular, observers in Dubai told this correspondent during a recent visit to the UAE.

The trend is clearly visible from the significant drop in the number of new employment visas on the one hand and ever-increasing number of returning Pakistanis on the other, besides, of course, the resultant decline in home remittances.

It follows the general economic depression which has hit almost the entire region (with the exception of Oman and Saudi Arabia) resulting in heavy cuts in development budgets both in the public and the private sectors and the usual economy measures.

Harassing Procedures

Although it has affected all the Asian non-Arab expatriate workers, Pakistanis seem to have been hit the hardest on account of the peculiarities of the nature of their jobs and skills.

But, more importantly it is becoming increasingly difficult to import workers from Pakistan because of the over-bureaucratised manpower export procedures, these observers said.

Some idea of the disturbing trend can be had from the fact that Pakistan's Consulate General in Dubai (which deals with the UAE's six emirates except Abu Dhabi) cleared a total of 6,748 new employment visas during the ten months of this calendar year, i.e. an average of 674 per month.

The figure for the corresponding period of last year was 9,467, i.e. an average of 946 per month representing a straight drop of about 35 per cent.

The UAE Immigration and Labour Department does not release the figures of work visas cancelled from time to time.

However, those having served for three years or more report at the Pakistan missions for certification of the Transfer of Residence to avail themselves of the benefits of the T.R. Scheme under the Personal Baggage Rules of the Central Board of Revenue.

The number of such old workers applying for T.R. Certificates at the Dubai Consulate General totalled 2,588 during the first 10 months of this year.

This means an average of 258 T.R. Certificates per month or nearly nine per day. The number is steadily growing with every passing month, officials reported.

Yet another indicator is the rising number of Emergency Passports being requested for by Pakistani workers who had entered the UAE illegally or have lost the travel documents and are returning home voluntarily and on their own accord. The total for the last 105 days was 238, i.e. 68 per month.

Home remittances

On the other hand, out-passes being issued to the deportees increased from 640 in the first 10 months of 1982 to 900 upto October this year i.e. about 30 per cent more than last year.

The growing imbalance between Pakistanis reaching the UAE and those returning home is also proved by the marked decline in home remittances.

Figures obtained from the United Bank show that during Jan-Oct 1982 a total of 72,712 bank drafts were sent to Pakistan. The number dropped to 62,082 in the corresponding period this year, i.e. a decline of about 13 per cent.

On the other hand, actual remittances during four months (July-October) this year through this particular bank declined to Rs. 151.3 million from Rs. 182.4 million during July-Oct (four months) of 1982 as under:

Month	Remittances in 1982 in millions.	Remittances in 1983 in millions
July	Rs. 44.8	Rs. 39.1
August	Rs. 37.5	Rs. 40.5
September	Rs. 56.3	Rs. 40.5
October	Rs. 43.8	Rs. 31.2
Total:	Rs. 182.4	Rs. 151.3

Reports of large-scale retrenchment and redundancy have naturally caused concern and anxiety among the Pakistani workers.

Telling blow

Besides economic recession, the problem has been aggravated by a combination of other factors, notably the stringent labour laws, move for Arabisation in conformity with the GCC and the Arab League resolutions, concerted efforts towards multi-nationalism in major organisations, growing competition from the other non-Arab Asian manpower exporting countries like India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines etc.

Dealing with the labour laws first, which has caused a telling blow on the Pakistani workers, it is recalled that the first move came over three years ago when the UAE Government ordered that a worker could not freely change employers.

Since it was primarily aimed at protecting the interests of the employers, such switch-over was allowed if the employee obtained a No Objection Certificate from his sponsors.

The impact of this restriction was further reduced when some of the emirates in the UAE called upon the employers to first utilise the jobless workers within the country before resorting to fresh recruitment from abroad.

New labour laws decreed during the course of the last one year have not only brushed aside all such flexibilities but have in fact gone too far ahead.

In the first instance, it has been decreed that a worker rendered jobless for any reason whatsoever

shall have to quit the country.

Furthermore, such a worker shall not be eligible to re-enter the country for at least six months from the date of exit. This is ensured by putting a stamp on the passport at the time of the exit of the emigrant worker.

The impact of these provisions is two-fold:

First, if a mason/electrician/carpenter/clerk is engaged by a particular contracting company, he is sent back home immediately after the completion of that particular project.

The worker can no more stay back and look for a job; nor can he be offered a job by any other employer under any circumstances.

Secondly, even if such a worker has earned the goodwill or reputation for his efficiency, he cannot cash on it as there is a ban on his re-entry for at least six months.

A large number of Pakistanis engaged in construction and development projects have been affected by these laws and have no option but to return home.

Yet another recent development has been the decision under which all employers have to import at least 30 per cent of their manpower from the Arab countries. All fresh employment visas are now subject to this decision.

Since last month, another decision is being rigidly enforced. This pertains to the six-month ban on the re-entry of transit visa holders, and is a follow-up of an earlier order prohibiting employers from engaging a person entering the country on transit or visit visa.

Yet another development is the emphasis on Emiratisation of services, i.e. special programmes and incentives for the locals to do jobs both in public and private sectors.

One part of it is the launching of the Summer Jobs Scheme under which the government nominates school and university students to do jobs in various organisations during the summer vacations on a "suitable stipend." Those of them who wish to continue or seek employment are placed on the permanent pay roll.

So, we see, labour laws becoming more and more stringent with the passage of time and making it increasingly difficult for Pakistanis to find jobs in the entire Gulf region.

Competition

Added to it is the growing competition from other manpower exporting countries of Asia and the 30 per cent mandatory quota fixed for the manpower exporting countries of the Arab world which should primarily benefit Egyptians and Sudanese whose presence is more conspicuous now.

In spite of official resistance to allegations of a "cultural invasion" of the Gulf by the Asians, it is not denied that the campaign launched by circles having vested interests is resulting in mounting pressure on major employers who seem to be trying hard to achieve multinationalism in their organisations.

The seriousness of this allegation and the tempo of this campaign can be gauged from the fact that the sixth session of the Committee on Labour and Social Welfare of the Gulf Region resolved to study and deliberate on the "Impact of Alien Maid Servants on Arab Families."

It has been separately decided to take up a study of the impact of labour laws in the Gulf countries in January next year with the obvious objective of achieving uniformity and to plug the holes wherever necessary.

It is acknowledged that the Pakistani worker excels all his competitors in efficiency, skill and output. In certain fields, particularly construction industry, transport, agriculture, forestry etc as well as a host of other sectors involving manpower of semi-skilled nature, the Pakistani worker has a clear edge over the others.

However, wage-wise, the Pakistani worker is costlier. He is also a man of self-respect, dignity, and pride — not timid or submissive like most other Asian workers.

Whispering campaign

Through whispering campaign vested interests have successfully branded the Pakistani worker as defiant, vocal and ready to fight for his rights.

However, the Arab employer still prefers the tough Pakistani labour to suit job requirements, but feels frustrated because of the stringent labour laws at home and the heavily bureaucratised manpower export procedures and regulations enforced in Pakistan.

[illegible] competitors who have [illegible] extremely liberal, [illegible] import policy for the Gulf [illegible]

[illegible] another factor responsible [illegible] exodus of Pakistani workers [illegible] the Gulf countries is the general slump in the field in which he has virtual monopoly — construction industry.

According to an official study, 52 per cent of the entire labour force of the UAE was engaged in construction industry, 16 per cent in services, 16 per cent in clerical jobs, seven per cent in technical services, six per cent in trading (salesmen), and two per cent in administrative-business cadres.

It is obvious that with the slump in construction industry, budget cuts, and the economy drive, the axe would first fall on the construction industry and the Pakistani who is the worst hit of all expatriate labour at the present moment.

Redundancy

Keralites from India dominate sale and low clerical jobs, Sri Lankans as maids, the Filipinos in hotel and tourism industry, Egyptians as mediamen including newspaper industry, education, and secretarial jobs in key sectors, and the Sudanese in similar trades and professions.

Reverting to general economic situation in the region, including the UAE, it may be mentioned that most of the Gulf countries have nearly reached a saturation point in respect of development of economic and social infrastructure like harbours, airports, dry-docks, educational institutions, health services, roads and bridges, and other public buildings including the bulk of low-cost housing for the UAE citizens. Water supply and electricity networks have either been completed or are nearing completion.

In the public and private sectors, housing was the major field of activity. In this respect also a bulk of the development has already taken place.

One could visit any of the Gulf cities and find beautifully metalled roads and highways, concrete pavements, roadside plantation, parking lots, gardens, playgrounds and parks, and a complete network of municipal and other utility services.

Drop in exports

[illegible] structure [illegible] needed. Only [illegible] staff and some professionals and semi-skilled personnel are required to run the [illegible] establishments like hospitals, schools, power houses, ports, docks and airports etc. This is the main reason for the redundancy of the construction industry workers.

The other is the world oil situation and the resultant budget cuts by the Gulf countries in view of the decline in oil revenue. The UAE for instance, had to resort to a 22½ per cent reduction in the staff in all ministries and departments some week ago. (This is now being done by scrutinising the needs of each ministry instead of the straight cut.)

The other is the general economy drive which has been in force for a couple of years and involved smaller allocation for selective items and priority projects only.

The private sector has been affected partly in sympathy with the public sector spendings and partly owing to the political situation in the region, notably Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Dubai trading, for example, has been largely affected because of almost total stoppage of traditional exports to Iran and Afghanistan.

Exports to India are limited because of stringent Customs regulations, while exports to Pakistan have gone down because of the new regulations restricting the validity of "A" Form only to the country of embarkation.

However, the prospects of employment of Pakistani labour are not very bleak either.

According to an official study, the present labour force in the UAE comprises about 80 per cent Asians and 18 per cent Arabs. In Government departments, about 50 per cent are Asians, 47.4 per cent Arabs, and 2.6 per cent other nationalities.

The same study shows that over 90 per cent of the Asian workforce is illiterate.

World Bank study

In the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, on the other hand, the composition of the workforce is 10 per cent locals, 20 per cent Arab nationals, 67 per cent Asians, two per cent Europeans, and one per cent other nationalities. Out of this workforce, 41 per cent is stated to be non-literate, 27 per cent literate, and only 32 per cent educated.

The study reveals that in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi average weekly wage of a worker was dirhams 477 in 1978 as compared to Dh 390 in the other parts of the UAE. Petroleum industry worker's average wage was Dh 917 per week, banking and insurance Dh 810 per week; and construction industry Dh 404 per week.

The study indicates that annual wage increased from Dh 25,000 in 1975 to Dh 26,000 in 1980.

According to a World Bank study, the manpower needs of the various countries in the Gulf would involve import of additional 2.829 million expatriate workers during the next decade.

Besides Oman which made a late start and is now taking big strides towards development and of course Saudi Arabia, the UAE also offers great potential. In particular, there is now a shift towards agriculture and forestry and this is one sector where again Pakistani labour should excel.

The other sectors would also remain open on account of the obvious liking of the Arab employer for the Pakistani worker's efficiency and output.

Observers said the wage differential was unlikely to pose any real threat. The problem is in the difficulty in procuring labour from Pakistan.

Time for reappraisal

In this connection two points are of particular mention: the maximum 60-day period for the validity of an employment visa, and (ii) the turn key nature of contracts which bind the contractor to complete the job within a given time at the pain of punitive fine.

Both demand export process to take place at the greatest speed. The over-bureaucratised procedures at home, however, consume more time and very often the visas lapse.

It is said that the new manpower export policy should be designed keeping in view the fact that the Pakistan missions carry out on-the-spot checks and verifications prior to endorsement of the visas.

That being the case, all other procedures at home should be done away with and emigration should be made a matter of absolute routine like a private visit on an ordinary visa.

Such an approach is all the more necessary in view of the fact that the present manpower export procedures/regulations were framed at a time when entry into Gulf countries in particular was unchecked and almost unhindered.

The present situation is that even those cleared at all stages by all the agencies at both ends, are at times unable to get obstacle-free entry into the Gulf countries which have become increasingly restrictive. A liberal approach would not therefore be detrimental to the interests of the Pakistani worker or the government, observers said.

In this regard it is also pointed out that the present procedures entail clearance of each case at more than 30 stages. It only helps corruption and bribery and exploitation of the worker instances of which are found in abundance.

A more liberal and streamlined procedure would involve disbandment of several government departments and help free the funds for taking up more welfare projects for overseas workers in a more positive manner, these observers claimed.

CSO: 4600/199

OBJECTIVES OF PROPOSED EXPORT BODY DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 Supplement p I

[Article by Babar Ayaz]

[Text]

THE Federal Commerce Ministry has proposed the formation of a Federation of Export Organisations (FEO) in what appears to be a bid to coordinate the activities of various export organisations.

However, the FPCC&I has opposed the proposal on the grounds that there were already several exports associations, affiliated to it, engaged in similar activities.

They have also pointed out that the objectives of the proposed FEO were inherent in the charter of the Export Promotion Bureau (EPB).

The FPCC&I president, Mr. Saifullah Piracha is of the view that the idea behind this proposal is similar to the Federation of Indian Export Organisation, — a government body formed to coordinate and supplement the activities of various export promotion agencies and exporting interests.

While opposing the proposal on the pretext that it would cause unncessary duplication, the FPCC&I has suggested that there was room for the establishment of an association of export houses.

According to official sources, the primary objective of creating the proposed organisation is to boost the country's foreign exchange earnings through exports and to foster joint ventures with other countries.

The Commerce Ministry has come up with the proposal in pursuance of President Zia-ul-Haq's directive that in the next meeting of the Federal Export Board a summary on the establishment of export houses and export associations should be presented.

The function proposed by the Ministry for the FEO are:

— To convene meetings, seminars, workshops and conferences.

— To provide opportunities to export promotion organisations.

— To review, discuss and formulate recommendations to Government and private organisations. To apprise the Government of problems, prospects and potentials of exports.

— To arrange conferences of interested exports organisations with trade missions and other foreign private parties on visit to Pakistan.

— To invite leading business parties and organisations from abroad for tour of industrial and commercial centres of Pakistan.

— To coordinate efforts with Export Promotion Bureau in projecting Pakistani goods and services abroad.

— To sponsor special projects related to export promotion.

— To open regional offices within Pakistan and abroad for performance of efficient and effective services.

CSO: 4600/200

TURNS, TRENDS IN ECONOMY DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 24 Nov 83 pp 18, 19

[Article by Jamil Rashid]

[Text] THE PRESENT state of Pakistan's economy can be assessed through reference to international developments over the past six years. In the absence of real value-added wealth, remittances from overseas Pakistanis became the mainstay of the economy. With the strong muscle of US geopolitical strategy in the area, new wealth and power were added to State coffers. As the import of consumer and military goods increased, exports had to be given a further push in order to meet foreign exchange requirements; this could only come from the agricultural sector. Consequently, the production of cotton, rice and wheat was increased. Such factors also contributed to an increased money supply in the country.

Facade of prosperity

All these trends have created an unusual and superficial facade of economic prosperity for the middle class. In some quarters, this is one of the reasons cited in order to explain away the subdued nature of protests in big cities, while there is a great upsurge among the rural masses for democracy and sharing of wealth. To some 'patriots' these turns seem very promising, and they would like to retain the status quo, given the 'freedom' to amass wealth through extra economic activities. It is frightening for many others, who see the country drifting loose from its moorings and passing on into the hands of external forces. With this polarisation in the country and the intensified cold war, the politico-economic structure of Pakistan is facing new problems. Though there is no crystal ball through which the future may be foreseen, some analysis can be undertaken from the facts and figures that are available.

While statistics are always puzzling to most non-professionals, a few figures can be helpful in explaining the turns of the economy. Two significant indicators of any economy are Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and external trade figures. In 1982-83, the overall picture was as in Table I.

From the tables it can be seen that agricultural produce constitutes less than one-third of the GNP, which may indicate a progress towards a mature economy. This is quite misleading. While there is intensive production under way with more capital and less labour, the number of underemployed and unemployed agricultural workers has increased. Under a balanced growth, the labour released from rural areas could be employed in the industrial sector. As the manufacturing sector has remained stagnant, commerce is becoming an increasingly dominant part of the GNP, without any growth in employment for rural masses. There is pressure in urban areas for housing, education and basic social services. The figure for overseas remittances is significant: 10% contribution towards the GNP. The cash flow from these remittances is helpful to those families who have earning

Table I

Main Origins of Gross Domestic Product, 1982-83

(Percentage of the total)

Agriculture, forestry and fishing	29
Manufacturing (large and small)	17
Commerce	17
Government services	8
Others (including 10% of the total from overseas remittances)	29 (10% + 19%)
	100

Table II

Main Exports (major selected items)

(Percentage of the total)

Cotton and cotton goods	32
Rice	18
Carpets	6

Main Origins of Imports: (Selected Areas):

Western Countries (USA, UK, W.Germany)	22.1
Japan	11.6
Saudi Arabia	12.8

members overseas.

On the surface, economic turns may bring socio-political changes in either direction, negative or positive; the forecast, thus, is optimistic for some, and pessimistic for others. In the wake of increased cash flow for powerful interest-groups, the media, which is essentially controlled by them, sings paeans of praise and paints a glorified picture of the economy. From another spectrum, these developments may not bode well for the economic-political structure of the country.

Overseas remittances

First, remittances from overseas have their own dimensions. Those who receive the cash flow are increasing their consumption instead of becoming producers. There is a pattern where parents prepare at least one or two children for overseas markets. It is a somewhat paradoxical development. There is increased population growth related to external factors in two ways. In the first instance, cash from overseas has given artificial prosperity, increasing the urban birth-rate. In classical terms it used to be argued that as the standard of living increased with industrialization, workers tended to safeguard their life patterns through birth control. There was pressure for greater expenditure on housing and health-care in industrial towns. In Pakistan, there will be an increased propensity for producing more children to send abroad in order to preserve the standard of living at home. To some extent this phenomenon was observed in Turkish rural areas, from where workers went to European markets during the 1950s, '60s, and '70s.

Second, the impact of foreign economic-military aid has created interest groups within the country. Certain strata look towards a specific country for enhancing their power and wealth. This can be seen in the rising share of commerce and Government services in the GNP figures. If GNP figures conceal the extent of defence expenditure, the annual national budget reveals a great deal. As is well known, over 50% of the national budget is taken up by the three defence services.

Third, there is an increased deficit in the balance of payments, resulting from the rising import requirements. Those who receive money from overseas demand consumer goods which are not readily available due to low domestic industrial production. In the public sector, import of goods and services tends to rise with the inflow of foreign loans. Once again, in both sectors import requirements are externally induced. Consequently, only those groups who have international connections benefit from the imported goods. The majority of the population has remained alienated from a development process of any kind – social, political or economic.

Finally, exports have to increase to meet the foreign exchange require-

ments. This is where pressure builds up for the agricultural sector to produce more exportable items. From the foregoing figures, it can be seen that agriculture-based goods provide over 50% of export earnings. At the same time, these exportable commodities have an import bias. There is little or no agricultural machinery produced within the country. With capital intensive agriculture, extra foreign exchange is spent on importing such machinery. It is possible to show through econometric analysis a net benefit from the export of agricultural produce and the import of agriculture-related machinery, but the impact of increased unemployment and underemployment cannot easily be measured.

New structure

These turns in Pakistan's economy are leading the country towards a new socio-political structure. In the atmosphere of laissez faire, purportedly illegal economic activities such as smuggling and blackmarketeering are now a part of the free market economy. In the words of a keen observer, the present regime has adopted the policy of "Whoever wants to go, let him go – he will send foreign exchange; whatever comes in, let it come in." As there is no Constitution in force, laws are made for convenience. Pakistan has become a Middle Eastern State without oil, and a Paratonian State in South Korean style, but without industrialization. Of course, the role of multinationals in Pakistan is like what it is in the Middle East and South Korea, that these corporations are only interested in fields where high profits can be made in the short term (financial and other related service industries are increasing), capital-intensive industries are not a part of that.

From the dynamics of the new turns in Pakistan's economy, one can conclude that growth and development seem to be hollow. In the absence of people's participation, the power of the State is also hollow. It can crumble due to the machinations of foreign forces in the economic and political affairs of the country. The consequences of such an event would be quite serious, not only for the Pakistani people but for the entire region. To some extent the crunch is being felt, and there is an upsurge among the masses. If the struggle for democracy succeeds, the country can still be saved, provided the people are allowed to decide what direction the economy should take instead of leaving it to foreign forces, who manipulate its turns and twists in order to serve their own interests.

CSO: 4600/188

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[text] There appears to be a general consensus that as long as Mr. Ghulam Ishaque Khan, a wizened financial wizard, heads the Federal Ministry of Finance a mini-budget round about the middle of the fiscal year would continue to be a peculiar characteristic of our national economy. Year after year one or the other of the most sensitive edible commodities or consumers' goods is picked out in such a novel way that any increase in its price should embrace all and shared by every citizen either directly or indirectly. This year, the commodity which has attracted attention is vanaspati ghee, consumed by every family regardless of its size or status. During the last few days, in the wake of speculations in the Federal Commerce Minister, Mr. Ellahi Bakhsh Somroo, has dished out mutually contradictory statements about an increase in ghee prices. Once he said that in spite of spiralling prices of edible oils in the world markets the Government shall not increase domestic price of ghee. On another occasion he said that with the increase of prices in international markets, an increase in domestic prices in eluctable.

Talking to the newsmen in Lahore he later said a price-hike was imminent. Justifying the contemplated hike he advanced a number of arguments although the attempt was, rather, superfluous. He said the price of Banaspati ghee in Bharat was Rs. 20/- per kilo and Pakistan could not afford to pay a subsidy to an alien country. Reading between the lines, it signifies smuggling of ghee to Bharat because of vast disparity in prices in the two countries. It also implied that the entire output of Pakistani mills, on which the government is granting subsidy, was being smuggled out to Bharat. Naive as the argument is, it can rightly be likened to the proverbial innocent fool suffering for the guilty knave. Control and prevention of smuggling across the borders is the defacto responsibility of the Government. Consequent upon the inability of the government to check smuggling the people in Pakistan have been penalised by a price-hike of Rs. 2.80 per kilo. It will have to be conceded that the country's total production of ghee does not entirely depend on imported edible oils; part of it is being produced with the indigenuous oil seeds. Clearly, therefore, the argument is far from convincing. Today the government holds international price spiral responsible for domestic price hike. Tomorrow it may blame the poor cotton crop for decreased yield of cotton seed and may once again, revise internal prices.

The tragedy has all along been that every upward increase in world prices has been transferred promptly to the people but in case of POL, the resulting benefit is not extended to them. We are strongly of the opinion that the latest price hike is irrational and unjustified. We refuse to accept the "bait" that the increase is 'nominal' and would be easily borne by the consumers. This, obviously, is a hackneyed plea and the people are no longer willing to be hoodwinked by flowery terminology. The prices of onion, potato, meat, eggs, fish and milk have been steadily rising due to such mid-year raises. Put together, the cumulative effect of the increased ghee prices would not be nominal' but phenomenal. The Finance Minister would do well to review his decision and take concrete steps to alleviate the hardships of the masses who have been groaning under the ponderous weight of the juggernaut that has been relentlessly crunching on.

CPU: 4600/18

UAE INVESTMENTS IN PAKISTAN SURVEYED

Karachi DAWN in English 2 Dec 86 Supplement pp I, IV

[Article by Tufail Ahmad Khan]

[Text]

HEW could envisage at the time of establishment of the United Arab Emirates, a federation of the seven Gulf emirates, on December 2, 1971, that she will soon come to play a very important role in the development of Pakistan's economy.

There are, of course, more than one aspect of Pakistan-UAE economic relations in trade the UAE is the third biggest buyer of Pakistani goods after Japan and Saudi Arabia according to 1982-83 (fiscal year) data, on the side of imports UAE is the sixth largest supplier of goods (mainly oil, petroleum products and re-exports of foreign goods mainly Japanese, after Saudi Arabia, Japan, USA, Kuwait and U.K.

Our imports from the UAE in terms of value exceed those from Western Germany, a highly developed industrial country (a leading member of the OECD and the EEC).

The other important aspect of our economic relations with the UAE is that it is the second biggest employer of our manpower after Saudi Arabia on the global basis. Disbursements of foreign capital inflows into Pakistan from Islamic countries taken together at $115.5 million are now the thired largest source of foreign aid and loans after the World Bank Consortium and the non-consortium countries. Within this Islamic group the UAE stands second next only to Saudi Arabia.

Indeed, our economic relations with the UAE have multiplied so fast and diversified in so many ways that Pakistan, which is principally an agricultural country, is now rightly considered as the hinterland of the fast industrialising UAE.

Vitally important

However, in this brief paper prepared specially for the auspicious occasion of the UAE's National Day, we are principally concerned with her industrial investment in Pakistan. Industrial investment from and among Islamic countries particularly the oil-rich Gulf, is considered to be vitally important in that they must develop the neighbouring markets for their fast upcoming modern sophisticated industries which will soon run into stiff competition with the developed industrial countries of the West.

The belief of these developed countries in so-called "protectionist" policies remain unshaken and their "protectionism" is not in the least expected to relax in the future. The industrially developing Gulf countries will have to rely then on the neighbouring, particularly Islamic countries whose markets they must start developing through investment right from now.

Indeed, this kind of economic integration is mutually indispens-

[illegible]

[illegible] right from the period of [illegible] in one of its official publications the UAE government [illegible]

"While looking towards the interests of its own people, the government has also not forgotten those other developing countries which have been less well endowed with natural resources than the UAE.

"The UAE has emerged as one of the world's major providers of overseas aid, both in absolute terms and in terms of its aid as a percentage of its Gross National Product. Disbursements of aid have risen at time to over 23 per cent of GNP, a level above that of any other country."

[illegible]

The publication correctly points out that none of the OECD countries, all of which are most developed and industrialised in the world, "has succeeded even in meeting the target of one per cent of GNP in official flows of assistance set by the United Nations."

As early as July 1971, i.e within a few months after its creation the UAE government set up on the instructions of its illustrious President, Shaikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahayan, its Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development (ADFAED) which developed in subsequent years as the country's main body for the provision of bilateral project-related assistance.

Authorised capital

In 1974 the ADFAED's articles were widened to cover the entire developing world, so that by the end of 1980 (in about nine years) the Fund had provided loans totalling 3,333 million dirhams (around $908 million at the current exchange rate) covering development projects in agriculture, fishery, transport, communication, water and electricity, tourism and hotels, and manufacturing and mining industries.

During the same period a total of as many as 73 projects had received loan and credit support from the Fund in 34 countries in the Arab world, sub-Saharan Africa and Asia and Malta and Turkey.

The speed with which UAE has come forward to support the development of economically retarded countries can be judged from the fact that during as short a period as 1978-80 ADFAED signed as many as thirty loan agreements worth a total of 1,731.4 million dirhams (approximately $471.8). Additionally two loans were signed during earlyly 1981, and at the end of 1980, additional nine major projects in Africa, the Arab and other Asian countries were under consideration by the Fund, after its authorized capital was doubled in September 1979 from two to four billion dirhams (one billion U.S. dollars).

It is to be kept in mind that ADFAED has specialised in providing project-related assistance and is equipped with a highly efficient team of experts, with a growing number of UAE citizens as members, to examine the projects applying for assistance. The Fund also follows the projects in the course of their implementation.

An important aspect of the UAE financial aid is that none of the bilateral aid has been tied to purchases from the UAE nor is it tied with any political conditions. This is so unlike the situation with almost all the OECD aid.

Multan plants

Another form of assistance, which is quite substantial, is directly supplied by members of the Supreme Council of Rulers, chiefly the President, Shaikh Zayed and the Vice-President and Prime Minister, Shaikh Rashid bin Said Al Maktoum, the Ruler of Dubai, from their own privy purses, for such social welfare projects as construction of hospitals, schools, housing etc. Pakistan has been a principal recipient of such assistance.

Some of the UAE's para-statal institutions have also participated in foreign investment, such as Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC) is a major shareholder in a fertiliser factory and in a refinery in Pakistan. These production institutions are located in Multan.

Indeed, among all Arab countries the U.A.E. is the second biggest investor in Pakistan next to Saudi

Arabia. These investments are in the form both of equity and loan. Saudi Arabia's investments total Rs 1,727.611 million rupees and the U.A.E.'s total Rs 1,311.371 million.

In addition to oil refining and fertiliser manufacturing, the UAE has invested in Pakistan's following industries: leather finishing, oxygen gas, cement, steel re-rolling and welding electrodes.

The names of the five enterprises, their industries and the amounts of equity or loan received in connection with these new UAE investments are shown in the table below (the figures are in million rupees).

Certain UAE entrepreneurs are also involved in some dairy projects, besides trading and investments in the Expert Processing Zone of Karachi.

If sound projects having prior sanction of our government are presented to the UAE, more investments can be attracted, provided of course, procedures are streamlined, un-necessary regulations are done away with and bureaucrats behave, and above all, adequate facilities like water, power, gas, roads etc are arranged.

Enterprises or Units	Industry and Location	Total	Equity	Loan
i) Rasko Tanneries	Leather finishing,	36.754	–	36.754
	Lasbella	11.600	–	11.600
ii) Sarhad Oxygen Ltd	Oxygen gas,	32.994	4.994	28.000
	Hub-Chowki	30.447	2.447	28.000
iii) A. Rahim Galadari	Cement, Hub-Chowki	776.800	232.500	544.300
		389.800	174.375	215.425
iv) Karachi Rolling	Re-rolling	8.900	4.900	4.000
Mill Ltd	Karachi	5.000	4.000	1.000
v) Arabian Gulf Welding	Welding Electrodes	10.288	4.000	6.288
Rods & Equipments Ltd.	Hub-Chowki	8.788	2.500	6.288
		865.736	246.394	619.342
		445.635	183.322	262.313
		1311.371	429.716	881.655

(Source: Investment Promotion Bureau, Government of Pakistan)

CSO: 4600/199

DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR KARACHI FINALIZED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 2 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by Sabihuddin Ghausi]

[Text] The Special Development Plan for Karachi, envisaging a total investment of more than Rs. 4.70 billion has been finalised.

Spread over a period of five years, the Plan indicates investment of about Rs. 3.40 billion by the Government and its affiliated, agencies while the remaining amount would be mobilised by the private sector.

Knowledgeable sources told BUSINESS RECORDER that Plan documents were being despatched to Paris in the next few days for submission to the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium meeting scheduled to be held on December 7.

Approved by the Federal and Sind Governments, the Plan proposes a number of options for the recovery of the investment to be made for improvement of water supply system, sewerage system, solid waste disposal, public transport system and rehabilitation of the 'katchi abadis'.

According to informed sources, the Plan has stressed the need for improving the per capita water supply from the present 49 gallons a day to 57 gallons a day in the next five years.

Hence, they said, the Plan proposed to invest about Rs. 625 million to raise the total water supply from the present 285 millions a day to 403 millions a day by 1988.

Another proposal for improving water supply in the rural areas of Karachi, they said, was to construct a small dam near Malir at Mol which would provide an additional supply of eight million gallons of water a day.

The plan also emphasises the need for improving the sewerage system in Karachi which, at present, is working with 40 million gallon a day capacity. This, the sources said, was hardly 14 per cent of total water supply and hence responsible for pollution problems in the city.

Therefore, the Plan suggested improvement of the sewerage system and raising of its capacity to 100 million gallons a day by 1988 with an investment of about Rs. 700 million.

Equal emphasis has been laid on disposal of solid waste in the City and the Plan proposed suitable mechanisation for this purpose with an investment of about Rs. 370 million. A suggestion for involving private entrepreneurs in disposal of solid waste in the City has also been made.

TRANSPORT SYSTEM

The sources said that the proposal to induct 1,400 new buses in the City transport system had also been made alongwith the suggestion to launch a luxury bus service and radio-cab service.

The Plan proposed a total investment of about Rs. 750 million by the Government as well as private entrepreneurs in transport sector during the next five years.

For the rehabilitation of about 363 'katchi abadis' with a total population of about two million an initial allocation of a little more than Rs. 2 billion has been suggested to make a beginning.

The sources said the Plan had also proposed the setting up of a Katchi Abadi Development Authority in the City which, besides solving the problems of the existing localities, would also take appropriate measures to check further unauthorised occupation of land.

As for the health and education, sources said that a separate Special Priorities Plan for the Sind province was being prepared which would take care of these sectors.

The Karachi Plan, they said, was based on the reports of nine working groups which had suggested a total investment of Rs. 20 billion.

CSO: 4600/197

LAW ENFORCEMENT IN HYDERABAD SAID SATISFACTORY

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 10

[Text]

HYDERABAD, Dec 3: The DMLA, Sector 2, Hyderabad, at a meeting held here on Friday expressed satisfaction over the law and order situation and also the anti-dacoit operations launched by the law-enforcing agencies in Dadu district. However, the DMLA remarked that there were still many gangs of dacoits which had not yet been eliminated and there was an urgent need of launching similar operations to nip the evil in the bud.

The DMLA emphasised upon the deputy commissioner the necessity of being accessible and responsive to the needs of the people and directed them to hold more kutcheries and exercise legal and administrative powers for the well-being of the masses.

Discussing the upward trend in prices of essential commodities he asked DCs to fix prices with the cooperation of local traders and to ensure sale at fixed prices, and prosecute defaulters under MLR.

While commenting on murder in police custody at Tando Allahyar the DMLA asked the Commissioner to approach the Provincial Government to raise level of inquiry officer to an Additional Sessions Judge to satisfy people of the area.

The DMLA directed the civil administration that traffic plan for Hyderabad city approved by him a few months back must be implemented with full vigour. He emphasised that rickshaw meters should be fixed within two to three weeks and that free plying of buses within the city to pick up passengers on the busy roads must end forthwith.

He further directed DCs to cancel arms licences of those who were indulging in anti-State and anti-social activities and issue arms licences to law-abiding citizens only. He also directed DCs to rejuvenate the Chowkidari system to control theft cases, particularly, in affected areas.

He directed that establishment of Cattle Colony outside Hyderabad on land already acquired for the purpose should be expedited and that work on the construction of truck-bus stand should also be completed.

The DMLA expressed apprehension on frequent breaches in Nasir Canal and directed DCs to personally inquire into the causes and ensure remedial measures. He asked the divisional administration to launch a vigorous drive particularly against those involved in trafficking of narcotics and asked that particular attention be given to the Federal and elected councillors for solving problems of public interest.

CSO: 4600/200

COTTON CRISIS ANALYZED

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 Business Supplement p I

[Article by Shaheen Sehbai]

[Text] CONCERNED federal ministers have armed themselves with statistics and data, to prepare their briefs, for deliberating on the worst-ever cotton crisis facing the country, when the Federal Cabinet grapples with it in Rawalpindi today and tomorrow.

While the statistics could be tailored to suit differing points of view, all realise that if worst comes to worst, the entire economy may be shaken by the chain of crippling after-effects on major export-industries, domestic price position and a serious setback to Pakistan's image of being a dependable exporter.

The Industries Ministry is reportedly prepared to back up the textile sector by proposing a direct subsidy on local sale and import of cotton--a recipe which may cost the federal exchequer anything between Rs 200 million to Rs. 300 million.

The Agriculture Ministry looks certain to plead the case that the damage to the crop is not what has been feared or publicly declared by persons in top positions who also have vested interest in keeping the cotton price sky high.

The Commerce Ministry has its fingers crossed but the main burden is to fall on its shoulders when exports fall and Pakistan turns into a leading cotton importer in the region--albeit for a single season.

Yet none of these still has the vital figure depicting the exact damage that the cotton crop may have faced. All estimates are preliminary and so many different interests are clashing that a clear picture just cannot emerge from whatever data are available.

The estimates which come close to reality are those provided by the ginners since they base the statistics on actual arrivals in their factories. The last announcement was in early November when a shortfall of 42 per cent was given in phutti arrivals, as compared to November 1, 1982.

Since then, spokesmen of various groups have been giving out differing figures suiting their requirements. These estimates have ranged from damage of around 20 per cent by the Federal Agriculture Minister to 40 per cent by the Punjab Agriculture Minister.

The latest estimate, which could be taken as realistic, has also come from the ginners whose Sind executive seemed to agree on a modest production of 950,000 bales for Sind as against 1.5 million last year. But the ginners too say nothing can be considered authentic unless the November arrival figures are available, possibly in a couple of days.

Case fo Subsidy

The textile mills' case for a subsidy on cotton--supported understandably by the Federal Industries Minister--is based on the argument that if the entire crop this season is consumed, as it appears it will be, by the domestic industry, then no buffer stocks will be left for the next season. And if a similar situation arises next year, over one million spindles will have to close down.

Thus the APTMA wants Islamabad to foot a Rs. 300 million bill now to save the industry next year--a proposition which the Federal Finance Ministry will find hard to agree to.

The Agriculture Ministry, busy in assessing the damage and a post mortem, if any, is rather embarrassed by the fact that the pest could not be controlled, although warnings were already there from different quarters.

The Central Cotton Committee, too, finds it hard to accept its responsibility for not mobilising the government agencies or forcing the pace at the bureaucratic front to do something about the crop before the damage spread all over.

Yet the overwhelming evidence is that the weather was the main villain and slow moving official agencies, lack of proper guidance to the poor and illiterate farmers, shortage of actual funds to fight the menace and a host of other smaller reasons extended a helping hand to the adverse weather.

Record High Prices

The overall dimension of the catastrophe was reflected in the snow balling price of cotton in the market--touching record highs in a matter of days.

Yet there are so many varying reasons given by different interested parties that it is still difficult to determine why actually the prices shot up so much.

For instance the Ginners and APTMA blame the Cotton Export Corporation for buying phutti at a price of upto Rs 390 per maund whereas the normal price is below Rs. 200. This, they say, has kept the market high.

The CEC sources privately admit that they purchased some phutti at Rs. 375 per maund to run their ginning factories but insist that the quantity bought was so small that it could not have any affect on the market.

CEC officials say the private sector is itself to blame for the market upsurge. They say December is the last month for the mills to buy cotton on bank loans and overdrats, hence the mad race among them to utilise their bank money, which helped the price shoot up.

The government move to ban exports did not halt the price rise, as it did in 1976-77 when a similar though less serious crop failure was faced. This, according to experts, reflects that the crisis is much deeper than before and nobody is taking it lightly.

But a senior APTMA official and a leading textile owner complained that even the bank money was not enough to enable the textile mills to buy cotton at the current rates.

"We have sent representations to the Pakistan Banking Council that they should finance cotton purchase at the market price and not the official rate which has been dwarfed by the current crisis," he said.

Whatever be the exact scale of the damage, the crisis that has already been created has been variously described as "a national calamity", "a catastrophe" and "a tragedy". But the fact remains that it could not have come at a time worse than this, especially when Islamabad planners are still grappling with the launching of the Sixth Five-year Plan, though almost half of its first year is already gone.

"It is time we should start calling our Sixth Plan as the "Next Four Year Plan," one industrialist remarked. "The cotton tragedy will not enable the economy to generate the surpluses this year that are required to finace the Plan projects."

Lesson to Learn

Experts say whatever has happened should carry a built-in lesson: That the crop failure could have been substantially avoided if proper coordination between various agencies responsible for plant protection was possible.

"Let us start a thorough post mortem of the whole affair now and, if required, we should invite friendly nations to diagnose what actually happened and how. Let there be no scapegoats made until a panel of independent experts studies the situation and gives its proposals to save the next crop," one prominent cotton expert said.

The Federal Cabinet, he added, is the right place and now is the right time to set up that enquiry panel.

CSO: 4600/200

COTTON CRISIS: GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION URGED

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 11

[Editorial: "Cotton Crisis"]

[Text] CLEAR indications are now available that all is not well with the cotton sector in the country. Cotton export has been suspended in anticipation of a production shortfall. The possibility of importing cotton to meet the shortage is being actively considered and some private parties are reported to have even placed firm orders with Sudanese exporters. Meanwhile, domestic cotton prices have shot up from last year's Rs. 500 per maund to as much as Rs. 900 per maund last week. It is now obvious that the situation will exert an adverse impact on our overall export earnings this year and will also seriously disturb the domestic textile industry. The CEC and the textile industry can be expected to sustain substantial losses in honouring the forward export commitments. At this stage, it is difficult to estimate the total financial impact of the current cotton crisis. But given the reports about the shortfall, it can be assumed that the overall magnitude of the loss to the economy will be quite significant. The authorities, who have been claiming full credit for the marked improvement in agricultural production for the last four consecutive years, have now readily passed on the blame for the shortfall in cotton crop to the weather. For some time they did not even care to admit that pests had damaged the cotton crop. It is surprising that in spite of the alarm which has now been raised, the Government still does not have a reasonably accurate estimate of the extent of the shortfall, although the situation could have been anticipated in March when untimely rains upset the sowing operation.

A serious crisis of this proportion cannot be swept under the rug. It has all the makings of an emergency, and appropriate measures must be adopted now to meet the exigencies arising out of it. The first step, of course, is to determine the extent of this emergency, which can be done only if the cotton production for this year is accurately estimated. The next step should be to draw up plans for the future, to cover the expected shortfall in export earnings, and to keep the textile industry from buckling under the weight of the likely losses which would be incurred because of the increased cost of production — inevitable on account of the doubling of domestic lint prices. All the alternatives should be studied seriously. The Government could consider intervening in the cotton economy in a big way

until the situation normalises. Thus, the Government could offer relief to farmers, put a ceiling on lint prices without damaging the interest of the ginners and announce generous export rebates on yarn and cloth. This would, indeed, be the ideal solution. But the Government does not have enough means to finance such a gigantic intervention.

The other alternative would be for the Government to call an emergency meeting of representatives of all the interested parties, such as farmers, ginners, spinners, textile manufacturers and exporters and discuss the matter threadbare to arrive at a balanced distribution of the enhanced cost over the subsectors of the cotton economy. The Government would, in that case, have to intervene only to remove the imbalances that are impossible to tackle by cost dispersal alone. The meeting could also identify the maximum margin of profit each subsector could make and where it appears difficult to maintain the lower limit of this margin, the Government could step in to enforce adjustments. This meeting could also be used for evolving a fail-safe system for monitoring the entire cotton economy. It was because of the absence of such a system at the official level that the extent of the cotton crisis could not be anticipated well in time. Proper monitoring would, in case of a shortfall, alert the concerned parties, such as the ginning mills, spinning factories, textile units, exporters and even the important world markets of cotton and textiles. If this system is computerised, so much the better. We must realise that the cotton economy is too important for the financial health of the country to be handled indifferently.

CSO: 4600/200

ECONOMIC POLICIES CRITICIZED, TERMED 'ADHOCISM'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Dec 83 p 4

[Editorial: "The Economics of Adhocism"]

[Text] THE substantial increase in the price of vanaspati has come at a time when the prices of vegetables, meat, chicken and eggs have risen sharply. Derationed sugar too is selling at about 20 per cent higher than the ration price. The government may be able to dismiss the giddy vegetable and egg prices as seasonal factors, although their prices have never shot up as high as they are today all over the country. But neither is the sugar price expected to come down much nor the meat prices. Free market price of wheat and non- ration atta, too, have risen. The impact of all these factors on the cost of living is substantial. Hence labour leaders have protested against it and called for increase in wages.

Contrary to reported recommendation of the Ghee Corporation of Pakistan that the price of vanaspati be raised by Rs. 2.50 per kilo, the government has raised it by Rs. 2.80. If the price was not raised to pass on the burden of the increase in soya bean and palm oil prices the government would have suffered a deficit of Rs. 4,000 million, says the government. And following the price rise the government would be bearing a burden of Rs. 1,000 million. That means the 83 million people of Pakistan would have to pay Rs. 3,000 million more for their vanaspati. And that is indeed a large sum, particularly in the light of the fact they have to pay so much more for their other essential items.

Did the government have any option other than increasing the vanaspati prices? To begin with, only two-thirds of the edible oil needs of the country are met by imports. The other one-third comes from indigenous production. Secondly, the government has been collecting a large revenue from vanaspati in the shape of Central Excise Duty. The revenue last year was Rs. 715 million and the estimate this year is Rs. 815 million. If the government wanted to be helpful to consumers it could have reduced the excise duty, or abolished it altogether for this year because of the abnormal price rise of imported oil following crop failure abroad. The government has not chosen to do that. Instead it wants to have all the revenue for itself and make the consumer pay far more for his vanaspati.

A major reason for the price rise which the government is determined not to admit publicly is the steady devaluation of the rupee under the guise of floating it. When Pakistan has to pay Rs. 35 per cent more in rupees, the price has to go up. But usually when there is a substantial devaluation, the duties are lowered so that prices of essential goods do not shoot up. That is not to be done in Pakistan. In fact, after the devaluation an import surcharge of five per cent was levied on all imports, resulting in a sharp increase in the rupee prices of imports.

A great deal of fuss has been made about food subsidies in Pakistan. Subsidy has been made to sound like an economic crime. But the total food subsidy last year was only Rs. 141 million, and the subsidy this year before sugar was re-rationed was estimated at Rs. 291 million. After the sugar derationing that amount has fallen sharply. So if the government was inclined to help the consumers it could have kept the price increase for vanaspati low and met the balance through subsidy. But the U.S. World Bank and IMF do not want us to sibsidises anything, and we fall for that line rod, hook and sinker. And that is being at a time when U.S. subsidies not grain production but non-production heavily. Hence the U.S. demand is inequitous, whether that comes directly or through the international organizations. But then, there is one logic for the lenders and another for the borrowers. Clearly an economic policy that regards a total food subsidy of Rs. 291 million too heavy and a wage increase of Rs. 3,850 million for the Federal employees commonplace is utterly wrong. And if after such a large increase in the pay bill the government employees find they are not the gainers they are right. If what comes as pay increase goes too quick as price rise, their protests are valid. So, the consumers are now losing without the official employees gaining. This two-way loss is the outcome of a wholly erratic policy of Adhocism which ought to be changed altogether now.

CSO: 4600/197

OIL PRODUCTION FROM NEW WELLS TO START SOON

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 2 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Dec. 1--Oil exploration activities in the country are being accelerated in order to achieve self-sufficiency in oil. This was stated by Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Resources, Dr. Mohammad Assad Khan, while inspecting oilfields at Dakhni and Toot.

The Minister said that the Government attached very high priority to energy sector and all-out efforts were being made to discover new oilfields in the country. He said that mobile processing facilities would be introduced in the oil-producing fields.

Dr. Assad said that two new wells at Toot would start production in about two weeks time and production from these wells would be about 800 barrels a day. He further said that production from newly-discovered Dakni would start after about two years.

He emphasised that the development of other sources of energy, such as bio-gas and small hydro-electric units along with oil and gas exploration should also be encouraged.

The Minister said that offshore drilling would start in near future and there were brighter prospects of oil in the coastal areas of Pakistan.

He further said that Government was also trying to achieve self-sufficiency in trained manpower by sending more peoples for training abroad.

The Minister was accompanied by the Chairman of the Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC).

The Minister visited Dakhni and Toot oilfields to acquaint himself of the projects there.

In Dakhni, he visited well No. 1, which has already been completed and would start production after the equipment required for disseminating sulphur from the oil, is received. He also reviewed the progress of drilling well No. 2, which has been dug upto 2,445 metres in 55 days, out of a targetted depth of 4,500 metres.

In Toot oifields, Dr. Assad visited the wells No. 16 and 17 which would be completed in about two weeks and are expected to start production soon.

CSO: 4600/197

HIGH LEVEL ENQUIRY INTO ONION SHORTAGE

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 14

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Dec. 3: Four provincial Industries Ministers and senior officers of National Logistics Cell will meet in Islamabad on Dec 8 next to determine the causes behind the present onion crisis.

The Adviser to the President on Business Coordination and Internal Trade Sheikh Ishrat Ali, when contacted this evening by "Dawn" denied that present onion crisis was the result of excessive exports or poor communications between Sind and Punjab. He said the crisis was caused mainly by late cultivation and partly by late rains. Private sectors, he said, had also played very negative role in this conection.

The Adviser, however, agreed that the price of onion has recorded an increase of more than 300 per cent during last few weeks but hoped the prices of all essential commodities, including onions, will come down by the middle of December this year.

Meanwhile, a survey conducted by "Dawn" revealed that onion prices in the two cities hit a new high. Onions available on few vegetable shops are being sold at Rs. 14 a kilo as against Rs. 10.50 per kilo fixed by the district administration. One grocer, when asked to comment on price of onion, said that he had never experienced such rise during the past 14 years.

Only four weeks ago it was being sold at Rs. 4 per kilo. One officer of Agricultural Marketing, when contacted, described the price hike as the result of disrupted communications with Sind. He said the produce of Baluchistan reached the market which was now in the hands of hoarders, while NWFP crop was much below the expectations.

Lahore

Dawn Lahore Bureau adds: Prices of onions in Lahore have been rising rapidly and the commodity is now selling at Rs. 14 to 16 per kilogram.

According to a survey, until yesterday the commodity was available at Rs. 12 to 13 per kg. but it shot up to Rs. 60 per five kgs. in the wholesale market, and consequently to Rs. 16 per kg. in the retail shops.

As usual, the claims and versions of the wholesalers and local authorities differ with each other — The wholesalers maintain that the supplies from the Hyderabad, Quetta and Peshawar has been regular and sufficient.

Peshawar

Our Staff Correspondent at Peshawar says: Onion has almost completely vanished from the Peshawar vegetable market while fresh green onion is selling at Rs. 6 per kg. placing the housewives in a delimma.

This situation is likely to continue indefinitely as there are no stocks of onion available with stockists and wholesalers, it is said. Whatever small quantity is available at very few shops is being sold at Rs. 12 to 14 per kg. The shortage has been attributed to hoarding by some of the major suppliers who have been held responsible by shopkeepers for creating an artificial shortage for profiteering. However, a spokesman of the Agricultural Marketing and Storage Limited, commenting on the

shortage of onion, said that it was due to dislocation of normal communications with Sind while the Baluchistan onion was now in the hands of hoarders in NWFP. According to the AMSL spokesman the situation has further worsened as onion production in NWFP has fallen short of expectations.

Asked about AMSL's role in resolving the crisis, the spokesman informed that AMSL, established three years back at a cost of Rs. ten crore, did not store onion and, therefore, it could not help.

CSO: 4600/200

UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES SAID BASED ON INADEQUATE DATA

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 Business Supplement p III

[Text]

EVEN in the most advanced free market economies, the chief concern of government policy is maintenance of full employment. Efforts are directed all the time towards attainment of this objective.

Yet, as recently as in November, 1983, the unemployment rate was 8.8 per cent in USA, 8.7 per cent in W. Germany, 12.3 per cent in UK, 10.4% in Australia, 11% in Japan and 10% in New Zealand.

In Pakistan such recent figures on unemployment rate are hard to come by. The unemployment rate in the country in 1982-83 worked out to as low as 3.26 per cent and was lower still at 2.93 per cent in the preceding year.

The Labour Force Survey conducted for 1978-79 put it at 3.5 per cent for that year. A similar survey conducted in 1974-75 claimed that the un-employment rate in the country was only 1.7 per cent. Incidentally, this was the year when world economy was in the grip of stagflation. It means that either we are exceptionally fortunate or our tools of employment estimation are very inadequate.

It seems that the actual figure of unemployment has been pushed under the "carpet of underemployment".

Table 1

Employment by Sectors	(In millions) 1971-72	1981-82	1982-83 (Projected)
Agriculture	10.8	13.6	14.0
Manufacturing	2.4	3.3	3.5
Construction	0.6	1.0	1.1
Wholesale and Retail Trade	1.9	2.7	2.8
Transport, Storage and Communications Services	2.1	2.5	2.6

Harvesting time

In the rural sector, where 71 per cent of the population lives, there is apparently an acute situation of seasonal unemployment. But our employment numbers do not seem to capture this. Perhaps because the harvesting time situation of full employment in agriculture sector enables the survey experts to count everybody as "employed" and to treat the state of "unemployment" between two harvesting times (or between two crops) as a state of sector is found in the cross-sectional comparison of labour productivity in agriculture, manufacturing and other sectors of the economy. In 1982-83, the annual value added per worker in agriculture was about Rs 7,000 whereas it was Rs 16,000 in manufacturing, Rs 18,000 in wholesale and retail trade and Rs 15,000 in construction.

Although this is only a rough indicator, it does bring out the fact that if some workers were withdrawn from agriculture, the overall production in this sector would, in all probability, not come down.

The rate of "unemployment" as also of "under-employment" is underestimated on another count. It is based on a labour force participation rate of 31 per cent which in itself is very low since it assumes a female participation rate of only 3.8 per cent which appears to be a gross underestimate.

It leave out a large number of self-employed women-folk, that is, those who work at their homes for wages on the basis of the quantity of work done; the work may include stitching of readymade garments, embroidery work, knitting, cut-work, piece-work, etc.

Younger age group

The labour participation rate in most developed countries is around 50 per cent of population while in Pakistan it is less than one-third. Besides, under-estimation of women labour force, another factor for low participation rate is that a large proportion of population is in the younger age group. Children below the age of 15 years constituted 45 per cent of total population according to 1981 Census.

Within Pakistan it is interesting to observe that according to Labour Force Survey, 1978-79, highest participation rate in labour force is that of Sind, being 33.4 per cent, followed by Baluchistan 32.4 per cent, Punjab 31.1 per cent and NWFP 24.96 per cent. These participation rates will go up if women participation rates are estimated more appropriately.

The distribution of labour force between various economic sectors during the 10 years ended 1981-82 show that the ratio of labour force in non-agricultural sectors has increased only marginally from 42.73 per cent in 1971-72 to 44.32 per cent in 1981-82 and therefore the pressure of population on agriculture continues to be heavy. The ratio for 1982-83 was projected at 44.52 per cent indicating a slight improvement.

The position of sectoral employment as given in Economic Survey, 1982-83, was as given in Table 1.

Inadequacy

Bulk of our labour force is illiterate. Out of the estimated total labour force in 1982-83 about 18 million persons were either illiterate or had "less than primary level education" and 4.6 million had "primary but less than matric level education". The number of matriculates (with less than degree education) was 1.98 million while that of degree holders was only 318,000. The degree or post-graduate diploma holders were 209,000, that is less than one per cent. The ratio of "matriculates and above" in total labour force was hardly 10 per cent.

This reveals the "inadequacy" of our labour force. In order to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the labour force as also to enhance labour productivity it is imperative that the quantity and quality of education is substantially augmented.

Table 2

Sector	Employment Elasticity	Employment level in July, 1988
		(Millions)
Agriculture	0.42	15.2
Manufacturing	0.392	4.69
Construction	0.40	1.80
Trade	0.408	3.61
Transport	0.408	1.44
Total including Other sectors	0.357	29.80

Massive size

The ratio of skilled and semi-skilled workers in total labour force has to be increased by launching crash programmes of massive size. Each year, close to one million persons are now being added to the labour force.

The arithmatic of labour force growth appears to be simple. In mid-1982-83 the total population of the country was estimated at 88.22 million, which at the average population growth rate of 3 per cent, indicates that 2.65 million population will be added to the existing number by mid-1983-84.

At 31 per cent labour force participation rate, it would result in 0.28 million active labour force during January, 1983 January, 1984. This additinal labour has to be imparted education and skills, along with the back-log.

During the past six years (since 1976) about 140,000 persons have been going abroad annually for gainful employment mostly in the Middle East. A survey conducted by Manpower Division placed the number of our workers living abroad at 1.6 million.

In the Sixth Five Year Plan, a net emigration of 550,000 workers has been estimated for the Plan period. During the Plan period labour force is expected to increase by 3.3 million. The agriculture sector is expected to absorb almost half of

this increase while manufacturing sector is estimated to take up about one-fourth.

On the basis of employment elasticity related to value added in various sectors of the economy, the internal sectoral employment level in July, 1988 is projected in the Sixth Plan as given in Table 2.

Survey

The Sixth Plan has projected the labour force in 1988 on the basis of a population growth rate of 2.64 per cent and on labour force participation rate of 31 per cent as in Labour Force Survey for 1978-79. The Plan recognises that female labour force participation rate has increased to 7.91 per cent.

Both the population growth rate (of 2.64 per cent) and the participation rate (of 31 per cent) assumed in the Sixth Plan appear to be on the low side in view of the fact that average population growth rate in the past has tended to be around 3 per cent.

With the growing rate of female participation in active labour force, the overall rate of participation is most likely to turn out much higher than 31 per cent on which the employment strategy in the Sixth Plan appears to be based. These parameters need another look for more realistic projections.—

CSO: 4600/200

TABLE PROVIDES NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION, RESERVES FIGURES

Karachi PROGRESS in English Nov 83 p 3

[Text]

Gasfields: Production & Reserves
(In Million Cubic Feet)

Name of Field	Discovered By (Organisation)	Location (Province)	Year of Discovery	*Recoverable Reserves	Production Upto 30th June, 1983	Marketable Reserves on 1st July, 1983
Sui	PPL	Baluch'n	1952	8,624,441	2,899,873	5,724,568
Zin	PPL	Baluch'n	1954	100,000	--	100,000
Uch	PPL	Baluch'n	1955	2,500,000	--	2,500,000
Khairpur	PPL	Sind	1956	1,000,000	--	1,000,000
Mazarani	PPL	Sind	1958	91,000	--	91,000
Khandkot	PPL	Sind	1959	406,606	--	406,606
				12,722,047		9,822,174
Mari	Stanvac	Sind	1957	4,034,000	274,803	3,759,197
Sari	OGDC	Sind	1965	29,000	] 25,451	53,549
Hundi	OGDC	Sind	1970	50,000	]	
Kothar	OGDC	Sind	1973	24,000	--	24,000
Rodho	OGDC	Punjab	1974	25,000	--	25,000
Dhodak	OGDC	Punjab	1976	700,000	--	700,000
Pirkoh	OGDC	Baluch'n	1977	1,000,000	--	1,000,000
				1,828,000		1,802,549
			Total:	18,584,047	3,200,127	15,383,920
Associated Gas						
Meyal	POL	Punjab		431,070	125,096	305,974
Toot	OGDC	Punjab		712,250	638,750	73,500
			Grand Total:	19,727,367	3,963,973	15,763,394

* Estimated original recoverable reserves.

CONCERN OVER ANTICIPATED CLOSURE OF CHECKPOST ON IRAN BORDER

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 83 p 14

[Text]

LAHORE, Nov 30: The Federal Government is taking appropriate steps to rectify the situation regarding "anticipated closure" of Koh-i-Tuftan post situated on Iran-Pakistan border being used as a busy checkpoint for the clearance of goods exported via land route to various countries, it was officially learnt today.

In this regard, a written formal protest was made by the Baluchistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry following a Government decision under which the Karachi Port was declared a full-fledged dry port for the clearance of goods routed through Koh-i-Tuftan post.

The copies of the letter were circulated not only to the Federal Government but to all the Chambers in the country and to the offices of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCC and I), as well.

According to the letter, a large number of professional traders and businessmen in Baluchistan would suffer due to this decision, particularly, those directly connected with import and export activities. Besides, the area would be deprived of a large amount of revenue collected and generated through these sources. Over 80 per cent clearance of goods would divert to Karachi Port, the letter maintained.

It has been urged on all quarters concerned to take stock of the situation in such a way that Koh-i-Tuftan is declared a dry port for which all necessary arrangements should be made.

In this connection, a meeting is likely to be held next month either by the Federation of Chambers or jointly by the Chambers to formulate their point of view and forward it to the Federal Government.

CSO: 4600/196

REGIME'S CONTROL OVER PRESS, OFFICIAL POLICY CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 24 Nov 83 pp 26-28

[Article by Minhaj Barna]

[Text]

FROM its very inception the National Press Trust has been a questionable establishment – in fact, questionable is a somewhat mild word. It was floated during Ayub Khan's regime in 1964. The initial investment of Rs. 51,80,000 was provided by over 40 concerns, including the leading banks. The donors: the 22 well-known industrial and commercial families; the operators: trained and artful civil servants. When formed, the Trust was bitterly assailed not only by journalists, editors and publishers, but also by almost all political parties, the only obvious exception being the ruling Convention Muslim League. Even the Pakistan People's Party in its Foundation Papers (formulated and approved in 1968) committed itself to its dissolution – a commitment which it failed to honour after coming to power.

The NPT was part of a grand design to control the media. Ayub's Government first took over the Progressive Papers Ltd. in 1959 under a Martial Law Regulation, thus adding a "New Leaf" to the once esteemed newspapers, the 'Pakistan Times', 'Imroze', and 'Lail-o-Nahar'. In 1961, it took over the Associated Press of Pakistan (APP), a premier news agency managed under a private trust. In 1963 it promulgated the most coercive Press law in the history of the sub-continent, the Press and Publication Ordinance, which again was vociferously opposed by all sections of public opinion led by the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) and other organisations of the Press industry. (A review of the PPO was completed by the Federal Shariat Court earlier this year, but judgement remains reserved.) All these measures are still in force.

Big empire

The NPT grew in strength over the passage of time. It was, unsurprisingly, largely concentrated in West Pakistan – in the former Eastern wing it had only the 'Morning News' and 'Dainik Pakistan', a Bengali daily, both of which flew out of the fold along with the wing. Today, the NPT controls a vast empire, comprising the daily 'Mashriq' (four editions – Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar & Quetta); the 'Pakistan Times' (two editions – Lahore & Rawalpindi); 'Imroze' (two editions –Lahore & Multan); and 'Morning News' (Karachi). These papers consume at least half, if not more, of the Government advertising budget drawn from the public exchequer.

The Trust empire is a many-splendoured thing. It has considerable assets, the most rewarding of which is its five-storeyed building on Karachi's illustrious bourgeois avenue, the I.I. Chundrigar Road. Net income from rent after meeting all expenses amounts to Rs. two million per annum. How the land was acquired and the building constructed is another story. However,

the NPT has more than one remarkable feature.

Unregistered Trust

One of these is the office of its Chairman, the present incumbent being the 11th since its debut. This is among the most powerful offices in the land. The Chairman represents everything in the Trust. To explain this point, it may be mentioned that in February, 1972, the Board of Trustees and all the Boards of Directors of various NPT subsidiaries were suspended under Martial Law Regulation No. 35, and all the powers of these Boards vested in the person of the Chairman. Later in the same year, the National Assembly passed the NPT Chairman (Appointment) Act of 1972, under which the President of Pakistan was assigned the powers to appoint the Chairman. It was a sort of coup against the Board of Trustees and the Settlors who had created the Trust. Interestingly, the present regime, very articulate in the several "White Papers" it has published against the "black deeds" of the previous Government, did not consider it wise to bring this issue into public view for a critical reappraisal. The reasons for this are obvious. And, to top it all – it is hard to believe this, but the fact remains – the NPT is still an unregistered trust!

The 'policy'

Another outstanding feature is the "policy" of its papers. What is the policy of the NPT and its papers? That is the question. It has, of late, become a particularly relevant topic in the wake of the stunning episode relating to the dismissal of 10 senior journalists employed by its papers in Lahore – 'Mashriq', 'Imroze', and the 'Pakistan Times'. The reason: they added their names to an appeal signed by intellectuals from Lahore calling for the restoration of democracy and an end to Martial Law. The charge: violation of the NPT 'policy' (other signatories to the appeal and those who signed a similar one in Karachi have been blacklisted by the State-controlled Radio and Television networks).

The ball was set rolling by the 'Mashriq' Chief Editor, who took cognizance of the signing of the appeal by three journalists employed by his paper. The journalists were not charged with any professional lapse or misconduct. They had been with the paper for a long time; one of them – a senior assistant editor – used to deputise as editor in the absence of the Chief Editor. A letter was immediately despatched by the Chief Editor to the NPT Chairman recommending removal from service of the newsmen forthwith. His plea was that the journalists had signed an appeal whose contents, in his opinion, were totally at variance with the policy of the paper. He also maintained that journalists who disagree with the policy of their paper should on principle resign on their own. The Chairman, who also happens to be the Chief Executive of 'Mashriq', readily responded and dismissal letters were issued. Later, seven signatories to the appeal belonging to the PPL, five from 'Imroze' and two from the 'Pakistan Times', were also dismissed on the same charge. Let the fact not be overlooked that all the 10 newsmen also happen to be office-bearers of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) and its affiliate, the Punjab Union of Journalists. Some of them are also office-bearers of the All-Pakistan Newspaper Employees Confederation (APNEC).

On the face of it, the charge is baseless. If one is to accept it as tenable and convincing, one must subscribe to the ridiculous hypothesis that the said journalists are not citizens of Pakistan, that they have no right to express their personal religious, political or other views, and that they are no more than serfs to the Trust, who must, in effect, be personifications of whatever the NPT stands for.

Terms of service

But what are the terms of service in the NPT? Is there any documentary proof which shows that, once in service, NPT employees will be deprived of all human rights – rights which are normally guaranteed by Islam or Western civilisation or the U.N. Charter to which Pakistan

remains a signatory? It is hard to believe that by accepting an 8-hour duty service a journalist working for an NPT Paper can be presumed to have sold his or her soul. How does the question of "Policy" come in where the retention and expression of personal views and beliefs is concerned? Every establishment has its own policy or something resembling a policy. An employee is required to do a particular job efficiently – and no more than that – for which a fixed remuneration or wage is paid. He is certainly expected to perform his duties in line with the general directives and policy of the establishment concerned. But does this mean that because of his employment he is deprived of all his rights as a citizen, including the right to hold and express views which may be contrary to those of his employers? Surely not.

What the dismissed newsmen did was no more than exercise their inherent and natural rights as citizens of Pakistan to express their views on crucial national affairs. Here the policy of any establishment at which they may happen to be employed cannot and should not come in their way. The question is one of direct relationship between an individual citizen and the State. If a citizen is deemed by the State to have violated any of its laws, then it is up to the State to take action against him via the courts of justice. If the contents of the appeal were in any way anti-State, the Government should have acted and not the NPT managements. It appears that the NPT is a law unto itself, a State within a State, a self-ordained judge and jury rolled into one, dealing with alleged "offences" which are beyond its jurisdiction.

The views expressed by the newsmen were no different from those being projected by lawyers, politicians, and various other people belonging to different walks of life. Millions of people are in agreement with them. They stand for democracy and an end to authoritarian rule. They stand for the 1973 Constitution, which was framed and unanimously accepted by representatives of the people. They fear that the solidarity and integrity of the country may be threatened if Martial Law is prolonged any further.

This is one aspect of the question. The other relates to the question of policy. The issue is: What is the policy of the NPT and its papers? This has to be classified if one is to accept the fantastic view that the said newsmen had no right to express their personal views on national affairs even as private citizens. And, for the sake of argument, let us presume that under the terms of their employment, expression of personal views in conflict with NPT policy constitutes a misconduct punishable by dismissal from service.

The Trust Deed

In the first instance, the policy of a newspaper has to be based on certain principles, both legal and moral, especially in the case of an establishment governed by trust laws. As stated earlier, there exists a Martial Law Regulation 35 and the Act of 1972. Neither of them has amended the basic legal document of the NPT, the Trust Deed. It is the Deed which lays down the basic objectives and purposes of the Trust and the affirmations of the Settlors. Thus, the policy of NPT papers could only be based on this Deed, and not on the arbitrary whims of its executives. Let us try to determine whether or not the contents of the appeal are in conflict with a policy based on the Deed. The affirmations of the Settlors in the Deed say:

"Whereas the Settlors have a feeling of responsibility as citizens and are desirous of establishing, helping, and encouraging the promotion of sound and healthy journalism with a truly national outlook, untainted by parochial, partisan or sectarian inclinations, so as to contribute to making of the Press a truly objective and effective instrument for promoting the ideology of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and for the furtherance of unity, solidarity, integrity and prosperity in the various spheres of national life. . ." (The words "for propagating the ideology of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan" were added at the Settlors' Meeting held on March 9, 1970, and approved by the Trustees on April 3, 1970.)

The relevant Purposes of the

Trust as laid down in the Deed are:

"(a) to establish and publish newspapers and periodicals with a truly objective outlook, and devoted to the cause of national progress and solidarity, and to acquire, promote, and develop all other forms of media;"

"(b) (not relevant here)"

"(c) to propagate and assist in the creation of an economic order based upon the principles of social justice as enunciated by Islam;

"(d) to propagate and assist in the creation of a peaceful and law-abiding democratic society; and

"(e) subject to other provisions of this Deed, to support national schemes for economic development and for promoting civic or other responsibilities, education and social welfare in both wings of the country. . ."

(Purposes (c) and (d) were added to the Deed by the Settlors on March 9, 1970 and approved by the Trustees on April 3, 1970.)

Impugned statement

And what are the contents of the appeal signed by the said journalists? It was in Urdu, and a rough translation reads as follows:

"We, the patriotic writers, journalists and intellectuals of Pakistan, consider it imperative to express the opinion that a solution of the grave political crisis facing the country, in accordance with the people's wishes, is unavoidable and necessary in the interest of the integrity of the country.

"The people through their own agonising experience have rejected Martial Law and have risen throughout the country for the restoration of their civil and democratic rights. The people of every federating unit are taking part in this glorious movement according to their capacity.

"The way the people of Sind have responded to the call for restoration of democracy, owing to certain specific historical factors, has added an enviable chapter in the history of Pakistan's freedom and liberty.

"We pay tributes to the people's struggle and to the sacrifices offered by the masses of Sind, and consider it necessary for every patriotic citizen to express his complete solidarity with them.

"It is regrettable that certain vested interests are engaged in efforts to deliberately distort this countrywide movement for democracy and, in particular, to misrepresent the Sindhi people's urge for freedom. The responsibility for giving a violent colour to this peaceful movement for democracy rests squarely on these vested interests. Moreover, the misuse of State power by the authorities has created a situation of confrontation. We strongly condemn this and raise our voice against excessive violence on peaceful demonstrators, unjust treatment to political prisoners, and uncivilised punishments.

"We firmly believe that efforts to crush the democratic movement by force cannot succeed. We appeal to citizens of the country to rise above their personal and group interests and play their historic role for the restoration of democracy so that the foundations of an independent, sovereign, and prosperous society can be laid in Pakistan".

No apparent conflict

After going through the contents of the appeal, one is at a loss to understand as to how these are in any way opposed to the policy of the NPT papers as may be deduced from the principles and purposes contained in the Trust Deed. Or is there some other policy, unwritten and undocumented, just whispered in the ears of the editors of the Trust papers? The contents of the appeal and views expressed in it may not be to the liking of the present regime, but they are certainly not in conflict with the "policy" of NPT papers, which can only be based on the principles and objectives of the Trust Deed. Only these are permanent and do not change with changes in Government. Nothing in the Deed suggests that the newspapers of the Trust have to abide by the policy of the Government in existence, and that their policy must change with the change of rulers. It may be mentioned here that although the brains behind the formation of the Trust had the desire and intention to control a sizeable section of the Press in the interests of the

Government of the day, even they could not claim in public, or in writing, in a legal document that the Trust would be an appendage of governments – that it would fully and completely support and promote their policies, even if these conflicted with the principles laid down in the Deed.

The appeal rejects Martial Law and favours restoration of democracy. Could it be termed as a negation of the NPT papers' policy, drawing its substance from the Deed which aims at creating "a democratic society", not an authoritarian one? Is the ideology of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan synonymous with Martial Law, so that a demand for ending it could be termed as anti-Pakistan and anti-Islam and, therefore, a violation of the policy of NPT papers? Who in his proper senses could possibly identify the Pakistan Movement or the ideology of Pakistan with Martial Law?

Similarly, by no stretch of imagination can the faux pas of "parochial and sectarian inclinations" be applied to the contents of the appeal. Only a wild concoction could produce such a conclusion. One must bear in mind the fact that the signatories belong to the province of Punjab, and they laud and appreciate the struggle and sacrifices of the people of another federating unit, Sind, for the cause of democracy and a democratic society to which the NPT Deed is wedded. How could this possibly be considered parochial? On the contrary, the signatories have condemned those vested interests who are trying to distort and misrepresent the movement.

Out of context

It is said that exception has been taken to the words: "the Sindhi people's urge for freedom". Words and phrases have little meaning when they are read without reference to context. The main theme of the appeal is restoration of democracy and the words "urge for freedom" are meant in the same context, when stress has also been laid on the solidarity of the country in the appeal.

There is only one possible way of justifying the dismissal of the newsmen concerned, and that is through a public declaration by the NPT that it is not bound by its original charter and that all its employees must mould their personal views in accordence with the wishes and interest of the rulers of the days.

But this brings into focus yet another aspect of the question. That is, while the dismissed newsmen, in fact, adhered to the policy that could be reasonably deduced from the Trust Deed, its violation has been committed by the NPT authorities. But who will proceed against them? Perhaps they can at least resign voluntarily, keeping in view their own principle that "if one does not agree with the policy, one should resign".

This is even more applicable in the case of the Chief Editor of 'Mashriq' whose identification with the previous regime is wellknown. It is for him to answer the question whether he expects each journalist to change his personal views with every change of personnel in the seat of power.

CSO: 4600/188

BALUCHISTAN GOVERNOR INAUGURATES SUI-KASHMORE ROAD

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 83 p 10

[Text]

QUETTA, Nov 30: An alternate inter-provincial highway between Baluchistan and Sind was opened yesterday by Baluchistan Governor Lt-Gen Rahimuddin Khan.

The 51-km road connects Kashmore of Sind with Sui of Baluchistan. It would later be extended to Dera Bugti to open up rural and tribal areas of the two provinces for better trade and traffic.

The road has been built by the National Logistic Cell at a cost of Rs 47 million.

Inaugurating the road, the Governor said work on 358 kms Sibi-Tally Kahan-Kohlu-Rakhmi highway would soon be started to open up the land-locked areas of Marri-Bughti Agency of Baluchistan with the Punjab. The road will traverse through important towns from Sibi to D.G. Khan and Multan where it would be linked with the National Highway. The project will cost about Rs 850 million.

The Governor said the Government attached top priority to road-building in rural and tribal areas, which possessed vast agricultural and mineral potential, so that the lifestyle of the people of the areas was changed for the better.

Earlier, the NLC Chairman, Federal Production Minister, Lt.-Gen Saeed Qadir, said that now mineral potential of the area, particularly Sui gas, would be exploited to the maximum because of this road which would help free flow of heavy machinery required for the purpose.

He said two modern machinery workshops — one at Karachi and another at Gujranwala — had been set up for the maintenance of heavy fleet of NLC transport deployed for smooth and satisfactory movement of essential items from Karachi to the interior of the country.

He said NLC had also undertaken the responsibility for moving 4,000 barrels of oil from Khaskheli oilfield to a Karachi refinery daily.

He said the NLC had also undertaken construction of grain silos for the storage of surplus foodgrains, particularly wheat, for export to foreign countries.

CSO: 4600/196

LAND REFORMS: EFFORTS, FRUSTRATIONS DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 83 p 11

[Editorial: "Implementing Land Reforms"]

[Text] THE Government's decision to probe into the legality of landholdings of the big zamindars in Sind is a significant move which could have far-reaching economic, social and political implications. Since such an enquiry has long been overdue, questions are bound to be raised about the reasons for undertaking an investigation now, so many years after the last land reforms were instituted. The Government's position is that some big zamindars managed to evade the provisions of the land reform act through forgery and other illegal means, and that several hundred thousand acres of land which should lawfully have been resumed is still in their possession. As a consequence a special team set up some time ago has already completed an enquiry into the holdings of 15 prominent zamindars in Sind, while an enquiry into the affairs of another 15 is continuing. It is, however, not very clear why a general enquiry has not been instituted at the national level to assess the state of agrarian holdings in the country. This could help ascertain the extent to which land reforms have actually been implemented. It is obvious that a law to regulate the size of landholdings does not amount to much if it remains on paper only. It is common knowledge that a large number of landlords all over the country remained unaffected by the land reforms of 1959, 1972 and 1977. Quite a few landowners managed to avoid giving up any but a token quantity of land. In other cases the lacunae in the law were such that they actually left large tracts of land in the hands of a landowner. Thus in the 1972 reforms the definition of the ceiling, the additional allowances given to a landowner by virtue of the exemptions and allowances for transfer within a family, and the grossly underestimated value of the Produce Index Unit, which was freely used as a yardstick, considerably reduced the area of the land to be resumed. As a result the large estates landlords were left with made a mockery of the entire exercise. One has only to look at the record to realise how ineffective the Government has been in implementing land reforms. Under the law of 1959 only an area of 0.52 million hectares of land was resumed in West Pakistan, which came to only 5.5 per cent of the cropped area. Of this 0.35 million hectares were redistributed among 75,000 persons. The performance under the 1972

law was not much better although the ceilings were reduced considerably. The land declared surplus amounted to one million hectares, which came to eight per cent of the net cropped area. But only 0.96 million hectares was redistributed. The land reforms introduced in 1977 were implemented on a very limited scale. They were announced at a time when the election campaigns and subsequently the agitation launched by the opposition disrupted the normal business of the administration. Land reforms went more or less by default. The implementation was poor. According to some estimates, about 50,000 hectares were resumed until 1978 and less than 35,000 hectares redistributed.

It should not be necessary to detail here the reasons for implementing land reforms. The pattern of agrarian holdings in any country has a profound impact on agricultural production, let alone the social and political implications it has for society as a whole. It is now generally acknowledged that small landholdings cultivated by the owner-cultivator have a higher yield per acre than large holdings owned by absentee landlords. Statistics for Pakistan show that large farms utilise just about 57 per cent of the total holding when small farms bring under the plough almost all the land available. According to official sources, farms under 20 acres which constitute 89 per cent of all farms cover just 77 per cent of the total area of landholdings in Pakistan. This of course does not give a picture of the land structure in terms of owner-cultivators and tenants. A number of farms actually belong to one person but are shown on paper as being owned by different members of his family. Such farms are operated by tenants. In 1972 owner-cultivators had only 42 per cent of the farms and 39 per cent of the total farm area of the country. Nearly 58 per cent of the farms were worked by tenants or landlords-cum-tenants. The situation has not changed very much on the ground ever since. There is no denying the fact that land distribution in Pakistan needs to be made more equitable. Even the provision of the land reforms which have so far been instituted have not gone far enough. Thus the last reform of 1977 allowed a person to hold 100 acres of irrigated and 200 acres of unirrigated land. Even these reforms, insufficient as they were, have not been fully implemented. Not only has all the land not been resumed as required under the law, a large area (364,000 hectares according to one estimate) has not been redistributed. Moreover all the land redistributed has not been given to the landless peasants. Nearly 60 per cent was auctioned to rich people. As such the lot of the tiller has not really improved and the feudal pattern of tenancy relationship remains as it was. It is not clear why governments have fought shy of changing the agrarian structure in Pakistan. The political hold of the landed gentry could account for this lapse in a vital sector. But any government which is conscious of the social and economic implications of the land tenure system in a country where 70 per cent of the population depends on the land for its livelihood should seek to introduce greater equity in landholdings. The first step is to ensure that the laws which have already been enacted are applied fully and all over the country without any geographical distinction. The next step should be to draw up a more comprehensive framework to restructure the land system to meet the imperatives of equity and economic modernisation.

CSO: 4600/196

HUMAN RIGHTS SOCIETY GIVES AWARDS; NASRULLAH KHAN, PALEEJO AMONG RECIPIENTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Nov 83 p 8

[Text] LAHORE Nov. 28--The Human Rights Society Pakistan (HRSP) yesterday announced awards for four persons--two posthumous--in recognition of their services for the sake of human rights through their writings or practical struggle.

The recipients include: Nawabsada Nasrullah Khan (Gold Medal) late Pir Sahib Manki Sharif (Gold Medal) Rasool Bakhsh Paleejo (Silver Medal) and late Begum Ashtar Suleman (Silver Medal).

The awards were announced at a Press conference by the HRSP patron, S. M. Zafar, who earlier presided over the meeting of 12-member awards selection committee. The awards would be distributed at a ceremony in March next year.

Mr. Zafar said that the HRSP had constituted a three-member committee to tour interior of Sind and prepare a detailed report on the situation of human rights at present and in the recent past. If it was possible, the report would be published.

He was of the view that arrests made by plain-clothed police were illegal and if the practice continued he might challenge it before the appropriate court of law.

Answering a question he said that Miss Benazir Bhutto should be allowed to go abroad if here treatment was not possible in Pakistan.

He expressed his ignorance of the alleged maltreatment being meted out to the lawyers and political workers in different jails.

CSO: 4600/188

EDITORS' BODY URGES WITHDRAWAL OF PRESS ORDINANCE

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE) declared here yesterday in a resolution that if democracy is to take its roots in Pakistan, freedom of the Press is a "sine qua non for its continued existence."

The meeting reiterated the stand of the CPNE calling for the withdrawal of the Press and Publications Ordinance. According to a Press release the meeting chaired by CPNE President Mr Inquilab Matri, adopted the following resolution unanimously.

"This meeting of the Standing Committee of the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors, after hearing the report of the CPNE President in relation to discussions with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Federal Government, regrets the reaction of the Ministry regarding the demand of the CPNE for the withdrawal of the Press and Publications Ordinance or even considering amendments relating to administrative actions agains the Press.

"The CPNE Standing Committee reiterates its stand on the withdrawal of the Press and Publications Ordinance and states that if democracy is to take its roots in Pakistan, freedom of the Press is a sine qua non for its continued existence."

Earlier, the meeting heard a detailed report from the President of the CPNE, Mr Inquilab Matri, the Secretary-General Mr Mujibur Rahman Sahmi, and Member of the Standing Committee, Mr Mohammad Salahuddin, on the meetings held with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the concerned Ministries on the subject of withdrawal of the Press and Publications Ordinance and the working of the Press Council within the framework of the constant stand of the CPNE on these issues.

The meetings of the Standing Committee discussed at length the report of the CPNE delegation that met officials of the Information Ministry and concerned Ministries in connection with the demands of the CPNE members of the Standing Committee, and agreed that the position of the CPNE on the question of withdrawal of the Press and Publications Ordinance be reiterated with vehemence.

The meeting heard, in detail, a report by the convener of the Quaid-i-Azam Press Convention, Mr Mahmudul Aziz, on the accounts of the Convention.

The meeting appreciated the fact that the accounts of the Quaid-i-Azam Press Convention showed a net savings of Rs 75,000 on the basis of the preliminary income-expenditure statement.

The meetings appreciated the effort put in connection with the successful holding of the Convention, which was held in Karachi between May 8 to May 10, 1983.

The meeting of the Standing Committee also directed the Secretary-General Mr Mujibur Rahman Shami, to remind, in a circular, the members of the CPNE, to refrain from publication of names and photographs of women who are victims of criminal offences.

The meeting also offered "Fateha" for the late Shaikh Faizur Rahman, father of the Secretary-General of the CPNE.

The meeting of the CPNE Standing Committee was attended by the following Editors: Mr Majid Nizami, Mr Mohamamd Salahuddin, Mir Khalilur Rahman, Mr Mustafa Sadiq, Qazi Abdul Majid Abid, Mr M. A. Zuberi, Mr Mujibur Rahman Shami, Mr Mohammad Haroon Sa'ad, Syed Fasih Iqbal, Mr Mahmudul Aziz, Mr Mohammad Amanullah Hussain, Mr Habib Hayat, and Mr Anwar Farooqui.

The Standing Committee members were later entertained to lunch at the Holiday Inn by Mr Inquilab Matri, CPNE President.

CSO: 4600/189

ANALYSIS FINDS INCREASE IN GHEE PRICES UNJUSTIFIED

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 Business Supplement pp I, IV

[Article by M. Ziauddin in Islamabad: "How Compatible With World Trends"]

[Text] AT ABOUT the time that domestic vegetable ghee price was officially increased by Rs. 2.80 per kg in response to a 100 per cent increase in the prices of imported edible oil, the price of soyabean oil in the USA had reportedly slumped by almost 100 dollars a ton compared to the prices prevailing some weeks ago.

Soyabean oil prices in the world market had started showing bullish tendencies from the month of May this year as reports of bad crop in the USA and Brazil began appearing on the world market scene. Within weeks the world palm oil prices too had begun rising in sympathy.

Still Pakistan managed to import edible oils by the end of financial year 1982-83 at just a little over Rs. 5.42 kg, the price it had paid for importing the same in 1981-82 but much less than Rs. 6.64 kg it had paid in 1979-80 per kg, off the 1978-79 price (Rs. 7.02 per kg) when the domestic vegetable oil price was duly increased by about one rupee per kg.

According to statistics available from unofficial sources even during the first three months of the current financial year the import bill for edible oils was computed at about Rs. 6.33 per kg, about 9 paisas less than the 1981-82 prices when the ruling domestic ghee price was Rs. 10.70 per kg.

GCP Profits

The extent of profits the Ghee Corporation of Pakistan was making during the period between 1979-80 and 1981-82 (when the world prices of edible oils were slumping) could be measured from the fact that the GCP in each of the previous two years awarded its workers bonuses equivalent to five months' salary.

According to informed sources edible oil supplies of about three months are normally in the pipeline between the port of embarkation and the manufacturing units. In view of this, they said, Pakistan has already imported enough edible oil for nearly seven months.

But since the orders for about half of these supplies were believed to be placed at about the time when the world prices were too bullish, the per kg import price for these is placed higher than what was paid for the first half of the supplies, making the average price for the seven months supplies higher than what was paid for the same last year.

But the total impact of these higher prices, in the opinion of independent economic experts, would not be so huge as not to respond to a correction of duties component (said to be Rs. 1.30 per kg) in the price of domestic vegetable ghee alongwith a reasonable adjustment against the GCP resources.

Declining Trend

As for the remaining supplies of around five months, these experts point out to the current declining trend in the world soyabean oil prices and they say by January next year, the country would be able to import edible oil at around Rs. 5.70 per kg.

In their opinion the official machinery did not respond quickly to the expected changes in the world prices of edible oils when the first report of bad crops started appearing.

They said, the private sector, which consumes about 34 per cent of imported edible oils, had exhausted its sanctioned quota much before the bullish trends started appearing in the world edible oil market. But instead of allowing the private sector to obtain further supplies to cater to their installed capacity and thereby import edible oil at lower prices, the Government banned it from placing any further orders.

It is said that by the time the Government placed the ban on the private sector for the first quarter of the current year, the world prices of edible oil had already skyrocketed.

Unpredictable

According to private sector sources, the country has the capacity to stock supplies for nearly six months. But this facility is not used and orders were placed as and when the Finance Ministry released the required funds, whose periodicity was usually unpredictable.

Before 1977, the edible oil supplies were used to be imported to the Edible Oil Corporation. But the present Government, in order to remove the costly overlapping of functions between the Edible Oil Corporation and the Trading Corporation of Pakistan dismantled the former and gave the exclusive right of importing edible oil to the TCP.

Later, responding to the plea of the GCP that the margin charged by the TCP was unnecessarily raising the cost of production, the function of importing edible oil was handed over to the GCP.

Now the private sector and the GCP each goes separately to the world market to negotiate their respective deals and frequently multinationals use the one to charge higher price from the other. When the GCP is negotiating, it is informed that the private sector contracted a deal at such and such price which is usually higher than the actual price paid by the private sector and so the GCP is left with no alternative but to finalise the deal at the quoted prices. Similarly, the private sector too is taken on a ride in the same way. Often both the private sector and the GCP end up paying more than the current market prices.

Purchase Body

Experts believe that this situation could be corrected by constituting a purchase committee with members from both the GCP and the private sector so that the import deals are negotiated at economic prices.

Discussing the efficiency of the GCP these experts recalled the TV news feature which revealed that recently (when the world prices were going up) about 800 tons of palm oil spilled into the sea from the container on the ship because one of its valves was leaking. These experts said that palm oil comes in solid form which melts at 40 degrees Centigrade and, therefore, the story that 800 tons of palm oil disappeared, was improbable.

Another argument against the recent price hike in the vegetable oil prices is the fact that besides costly imported edible oils, locally cultivated cheaper oilseeds are also used in manufacture of vegetable oils. Also palm oil, which usually comes at half the price of soyabean oil is used rather generously. If the cost of the entire mix is computed the actual impact of a 100 per cent increase in imported edible oil prices gets diluted to a large extent.

As world prices of soyabean oil have already started declining, experts estimate that by the end of the current financial year the per kg import price would come down to a little over last year's level.

They thought that effecting increase in the price of vegetable oil when world prices of edible oil was expected to start declining, was actually a measure to raise extra revenues amounting to Rs. 3,000 million to fill partly an expected shortfall of about Rs. 6,000 million in the revenue budgeted for the current year.

CSO: 4600/200

CALL TO BRIDGE GAP IN DEFENSE PRODUCTION

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Nov 83 p 16

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Nov 29--The chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal M. Anwar Shamim, said here this evening that we need to make concerted efforts to bridge the wide gap in defence production which existed between Pakistan and the developed nations.

The air chief who chaired today's session of international Seminaro on Defence Technology at POF Wah Cantt, said that we were living in a complex world where realism and idealism have often been in conflict.

He said realism demanded an honest appraisal of national security requirements and technology ensured security. Thus, he said, defence technology was a sector of prime interest in the development of any nation.

A basic level of indigenous production capability is a prerequisite to national progress and sovereign existence, he added. According to him Pakistan has made some headway in creating an infrastructure of essential defence equipment.

He said the modest steps taken by the Government of Pakistan are meant to ensure the safety and security of our country.

CSO: 4600/189

SIND LEADER MOVED TO HOSPITAL

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, Dec 3: President of the Sind Awami Tehrik Mr. Rasool Bux Paleejo, is suffering from severe disorder of thyroid gland and has been shifted from a cell of the Kot Lakhpat Jail to Albert Victor Hospital.

Established medical inferences say that this disease may also lead to heart ailment.

According to knowledgeable sources Mr. Paleejo, who was shifted to hospital only three days ago, had complained of incisive pain-pricks in his entire body. He has been under detention for the last about four years.

According to first medical report prepared in the jail, before Mr. Paleejo was shifted to the hospital, the disease was diagnosed very late and as such it may lead to various other complications.

However, a two-member team of senior doctors — a physician and a surgeon — has been deputed to look after him. The doctors today completed blood test, scanning and X-ray procedures.

Mr. Paleejo is being given food according to doctors' prescription. He is not allowed to take a stroll, being a detenu, and a police guard, armed with a gun, has been posted outside his room.

According to details of the disease, the secretion of thyroxine has been disturbed which at the initial stage of treatment may take eight to ten weeks. The medical conclusions say that thyroid gland disorder develops mainly due to tense mental, psychological and nervous system pressure. As a result of this disorder, alongwith heart disease, a number of other ailments may also develop as chain reactions. These include goitre (swelling of the neck), cretinism (a state of defective mental development with bodily deformity or arrested growth) and exophthalmia (protrusion of eye-balls).

Dr. Syed Sibtul Hassan is incharge of the medical team deputed for the treatment of Mr. Paleejo.

CSO: 4600/199

SURVEY REPORTS REASONS FOR FLIGHT OF TALENT

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Nov 83 p 12

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Nov 29: A large number of highly-qualified manpower of Pakistan, which includes scientists, doctors, engineers and agricultural experts, preferred to take up jobs abroad because of frustration caused by less attractive working conditions at home, according to a recently-conducted Government survey.

Mr A. Sattar Gill, Director, National Talents Pool, a wing of the Federal Labour and Manpower Ministry, told a news conference here on Sunday that all the 25,532 persons including 5,52 medical doctors, 9,914 engineers, 6,652 scientists and 3,445 agricultural experts were found unhappy to work at home.

He said this called urgent probe into the cause to stop the brain-drain and utilise the services of the talents within the country.

PPI adds: he said the number of talented persons was very small as compared to the size of the population of the country.

The Director-General said: "The survey reveals that Baluchistan did not have enough number of professionals of various categories while the number of engineers is comparatively higher in Sind and NWFP as compared to Punjab. Sind has also a significant edge over other provinces regarding the availability of scientists while the Punjab is better off in the field of agriculture". However, the report says, there is a need to follow a balanced policy to produce professionals of various categories matching with the requirements of each province.

The report of the survey also reveals that the majority of these highly qualified professionals was oriented at the big cities.

The National Talent Pool has also prepared recommendations to meet the requirements of the professionals.

The National Talent Pool, Manpower Division, has published directories of scientists, agricultural experts, doctors, engineers, of the country.

CSO: 4600/189

BRIEFS

ENQUIRY AGAINST JATOI, OTHERS--HYDERABAD, Nov. 27--The FIA has completed investigation against 15 big zamindars of Sukkur Division including Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, former Chief Minister of Sind It is reported that the President of Pakistan during his last visit of interior of Sind received had complaints that several zamindar of Sind after enforcement of land reforms saved their extra lands. They had changed Khatas and transferred the extra lands to their relatives and other bogus names. The President on such complaints had ordered FIA to investigate against such zamindars and submit a report to him. The FIA chief deputed two teams of officers to investigate against the zamindars of Hyderabad and Sukkur Division. The FIA team for Sukkur Division has completed the investigation and has sent the report to federal government with the recommendations that zamindars and revenue officials involved in this racket should be tried by special military courts and the extra land should be confiscated. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Nov 83 p 1]

CONCERN OVER GHAFFAR KHAN'S DETENTION--PESHAWAR, Nov. 27--Provincial Secretary General of the defunct PNP Safdar Khan has expressed concern over the continued detention of the veteran freedom fighter Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. In a statement he said the Badshah Khan is neither a member of any political party nor has any political ambitions. At the age of 95 he is too old to cause any law and order problem for the government. Beside, he has not been keeping good health and is unable to move about without a wheel chair. As such his detention is most unjustified. He therefore called for his immediate release. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Nov 83 p 6]

SUI PRODUCTION GOES UP--GAS production from Sui field recorded an increase of one percent during the last financial year as compared to 1981-82. Average daily production in 1982-83 was more than 719 million cubic feet compared to a little over 712 million cubic feet in 1981-82. Of the total Sui gas produced, Pakistan Petroleum sold nearly 346 million cubic feet of gas per day to Sui Northern Gas Pipelines and more than 253 million cubic feet of gas per day to Sui Gas Transmission Company for sale in areas south of Sui up to Karachi and Quetta. Gas supply to both the transmission systems in 1982-83 was higher than in 1981-82. More than 69 million cubic feet of gas per day was also supplied in 1982-83 to Gudu Thermal Power Station for the generation of power. Sui gas production currently accounts for three-fourths of the total gas produced in the country. [Text] [Karachi PROGRESS in English Nov 83 p 1]

PARTY CHIEF DECLARED ABSCONDER--QUETTA, Nov 30--The chief of the defunct Pakhtoonkhwa National Awami Party Mr. Mahmud Khan Achakzai has been declared absconder. He seems to have gone underground after October 7 incident of firing on a crowd in Quetta, resulting in the death of four and injury to seven persons. The police had registered a case of creating riots, attempt to murder and interference in the performance of official duties. The court will hear his case in absentia. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 83 p 4]

SPECIALISTS TO EXAMINE BIZENJO--QUETTA, Nov 30--A team of medical specialists led by the Head of ENT Department of Bolan Medical College and Civil Hospital, Quetta. Dr. Mahmud Reza has been sent to Mashkey to examine Mr. Ghous Bux Bizenjo, defunct PNP chief who is currently detained there and suffering from serious ENT ailments. After obtaining the advice of medical specialists the Government will decide on future line of action for his treatment. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 83 p 14]

NOORANI ON ELECTIONS--HYDERABAD, Nov 30--The chief of the defunct JUP Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani said here on Wednesday that the country could only be saved by holding elections in 1984 under 1973 Constitution. Addressing lawyers at District Bar Room here the Maulana said that those elected on non-party basis would be simply puppets and absolutely ineffective but those elected on party basis would certainly hold the authorities accountable for their deeds. He expressed grave concern over the situation obtaining in Sind and paid tributes to those who had made tremendous sacrifices for restoration of democracy. He also paid tributes to the members of the Bar of Lahore who, he said, were offering arrests every day and commended the sacrifices of the lawyers in furthering the cause of democracy. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 83 p 14]

GOVERNMENT TO BUY RIGS--DR. ASSAD ISLAMABAD, Dec. 2--The Government will purchase rugs to accelerate the oil exploration in the country and in this regard negotiations are in progress with Islamic Bank and Asian Development Bank, this was disclosed by the Minister of State for petroleum Dr. Muhammad Assad Khan, in an airport interview. The Minister said that to meet the increasing energy requirements long as well as short term plans were chalked out by the Government. Responding to a question, Dr. Muhammad Assad Khan said that Pirkoh reservoirs will go into production next month. [Text] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 3 Dec 83 p 1]

EFFORTS FOR WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY--The Anjuman Islamia Pakistan has chalked out plans for the establishment of a private women university in Karachi. Explaining the details of the plan, Maulvi Riazuddin Ahmed, the Founder of the Anjuman, told Press conference that he had discussed the establishment of the women university with the Vice-Chancellor of the Karachi University. In this regard, Maulvi Riazuddin Ahmed urged the Directorate of Technical Education to hand-over to the Anjuman the vacant 15-room building at the Jinnah Polytechnic Institute to start the postgraduate classes to begin with. He said the Anjuman plans to open the women university at it's Jinnah College campus and in this regard demanded of the government to return the Jinnah College to the Anjuman for the purpose. He said that the Federal Education Minister has also been approached with regard to the establishment of women university in Karachi, which, he pointed out, was the pressing need for the time. Maulvi

Diazuddin Ahmed said that finances were no problem for the Anjuman in the opening of the university. What was needed were the return of its buildings, he added. [Text] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 3 Dec 83 p 3]

EDITOR RELEASED FROM PRISON--RAWALPINDI, Dec 3--Mr. Rafi Butt, the Chief Editor of a local Urdu daily "Haider" was today set free by the police. Mr. Butt was picked up by Rawalpindi police from his residence on Oct 18 last. No specific reason of his arrest was given by the police. Mr. Butt was later shifted to the hospital because of his illness. Mr. Zamir Nafees, who acted as Editor of the paper during Mr. Butt's absence, and other staff of "Haider" today thanked all those who had extended moral support to the paper during this period. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 1]

STATEMENT ABOUT BIHARIS' REPATRIATION CONDEMNED--Some more reactions to the Sindhi intellectual, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah's statement opposing the repatriation of stranded Biharis to Pakistan were received in the newspaper offices yesterday. Syed AfzalHusain, Senior Vice-President of Tehrik-i-Ittehad, Pakistan, in his statement said the Sind Government should take notice of the "tendentious and sweeping allegations" made by Mr. Mustafa Shah against the Bihari community. In a joint statement, Dr. Habibur Rahman Khan, Mr. S. M. Rifaqatullah and others of the Pak. Muslim Association urged the Government to ignore the opposition and arrange speedy repatriation of "Biharis" from Bangladesh. Mr. Azad Bin Haider, in a rejoinder to Prof. Ghulam Mustafa Shah, said "Mr. Shah has tried to damage the prestige of Sind and has forgotten that it was Sind who invited the Biharis to Sind. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 4]

LEADER ON PARTIES IN ISLAM--Maulana Syed Mohammad Shah Amroti, convener of the MRD, has said that in an Islamic set-up, there is no bar to the formation and working of political parties. In a statement on Friday, he cautioned the people against getting involved in questions of purely academic nature. Unnecessary controversies he pointed out, were being raised by the bureaucracy and vested interests to divert the public attention from the main demand, namely, the removal of Martial Law. The longer the Martial Law was retained, the risks posed to national unity and integrity would become more potent, he said and added that Martial Law and Islam could not co-exist. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 4]

ISLAMABAD-QUETTA FLIGHTS--The PIA will introduce a new twice weekly flight from Islamabad to Quetta via Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, and Zhob from Dec 11. The Baluchistan Governor, Lt-Gen, Rahimuddin Khan, who will perform the opening ceremony of the newly-built Zhob airport, will also receive the inaugural PIA flight at Zhob. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 4]

CONCERN OVER BIZENJO'S HEALTH--The MRD, Karachi Zone, yesterday expressed its "deep concern" at the sustained loss of hearing by Mr. Ghous Bux, Bizenjo, President of the defunct Pakistan National Party (PNP), detained at Mashkey Rest House in Baluchistan. The meeting held with Hakim Jamaluddin in the chair, pointed out that Mashkey was a far-off, deserted place where facilities of water and electricity were not available and, besides, the Rest House

itself was in a dilapidated condition. "To keep a seriously ailing person of the stature of Mr. Bizenjo in such object living conditions is an affront to the nation, and for anything that may happen to the great leader the Government will be responsible", it warned. The Karachi MRD demand that Mr. Bizenjo be immediately shifted to Karachi for proper care and treatment. It also stated the "ill-treatment" being allegedly meted out to Mr. Fazil Rahu, a leader of the Sind Awami Tehrik, in jail. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 4]

PPP LEADER SENTENCED--ATTOCK, Dec 3--A Summary Military Court of Rawalpindi Division has sentenced Mr. Ahmed Waheed Akhtar, leader of defunct Pakistan People's Party, to one-year imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 30,000. Mr. Ahmed Waheed Akhtar had courted arrest. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 4 Dec 83 p 14]

MRD DEPLORES PRICE INCREASE--The Karachi MRD at its meeting on Thursday deplored the increase in vegetable ghee prices and demanded its immediate withdrawal. Through another resolution the MRD Described the present anti-narcotic campaigning as 'fake' and declared that the narcotics business was continuing unabated. It also alleged that narcotic pedlars were being protected by officials and were put under detention to hide them from public eye. Through another resolution, the MRD deplored jail term and lashes to PNP leader, Mr Jamal Nasir Baluch. It termed the reported "apology" news of political workers, as baseless. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 2 Dec 83 p 6]

PRINTING PRESS IN QUETTA SEALED--QUETTA, Dec 1--The city police sealed a printing press, Jico Printers, here on Wednesday and took into custody three persons, including the proprietor, on charges of printing objectionable material. The police sources told PPI that among those arrested were Zahid Hussain, proprietor, and two workers of the press, Pervez and Ashraf. The sources said the police raided the press and caught the Manager and the press workers red-handed while printing objectionable material. The objectionable printed material, seized from the press, included a booklet entitled "BSO Ke Siasi programme", "Ittehad-o-Amli Jido Juhd Keliey" and another printed poster entitled "Salute to the martyrs of Oct 7", published by MRD and NAP Pushtoonkhwa. A case has been registered under Martial Law Regulation. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 2 Dec 83 p 20]

MANY COTTON WORKERS JOBLESS--MULTAN, Dec 1--Some of the ginning factories in Multan region have reportedly been closed down due to the damage to cotton crop. Consequently, thousands of employees and labourers have become jobless. Meanwhile, the Mazdoor unions and public circles here have demanded jobs for the unemployed workers. According to reports here, the farmers of Muzaffargarh District, whose cotton crop has been damaged, have been exempted from paying Ushr. This decision was announced at an emergency meeting of the District Zakat and Ushr Committee, Muzaffargarh. According to reliable sources here, the cotton crop in an area of about 8,000 acres in Muzaffargarh District has been damaged. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 2 Dec 83 p 20]

JUI, JUP AGREEMENT APPROVED--KHANPUR, Dec 1--Maulana Mohammad Abdullah Darkhwasti has approved unity pact among defunct Jamiat Ulema Islam, Jamiat Ulema

Pakistan and Jamiat Ahlehadith and signed the pact on Thursday. This was disclosed here by Central Secretary Information of Jamiat, Ulema Islam, Maulana Zahidur Rashid. He said that Secretary-General of his party, Maulana Obaidullah Anwar, has been authorised to nominate five members of the Jamiat for the joint central body of the new organisation. On the occasion, Maulana Darkhwasti observed that his party always, supported cooperation and unity among Islam-loving parties in order to fight for introduction of Islamic system and protection of the faith in Khatm-i-Nabawwat. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 2 Dec 83 p 24]

UMAR ASGHAR'S DISMISSAL CRITICIZED--LAHORE, Dec 1--Mian Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, Central Information Secretary of the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal termed the dismissal of Prof. Umar Asghar Khan of the Punjab University as an act of mere political victimisation. In a statement issued today the TI leader observed, since Mr Umar was son of Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan, such an action was taken against him. According to the statement Mr Umar Asghar was currently writing a doctoral thesis for Cambridge University on the development of trade union movement in Pakistan. In that capacity, for a close observation on the subject, he was, no doubt, present on the occasion of a labour meeting held in the month of October at the Lahore railway station, but his presence did not mean that Mr Umar incited the labour against the Government, Mian Kasuri maintained. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 2 Dec 83 p 24]

LEADER ON JUP GOALS--PESHAWAR, Dec 1--Mr. Iqbal Haider, Additional Secretary of MRD and Acting Chairman of the defunct Quami Mahazi-i-Azadi, said here on Thursday that the defunct JUP, agreeing with the basic four points of MRD, had given an assurance participation in the current movement for restoration of democracy in the country. He said that whatever verbal assurances were given by the defunct JUP Chief, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, were being put into practice. This assurance was given by Maulana Noorani at a formal meeting with the Additional Secretary-General in Karachi recently. He said further that after talks with the Government the defunct JUP was convinced that the regime had no intention to hand over power to elected representatives of people. Addressing a Press conference on the eve of his departure for Karachi, Mr. Iqbal Haider read out a lengthy statement stressing that the MRD struggle would continue. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 2 Dec 83 p 24]

NASRULLAH ON MEETING PAGARA--MULTAN, Dec. 1--Nawabzada Nasrullah Kha Chief of the defunct Pakistan Jamhoori Party, said Pir Pagara, chief of the Pakistan Muslim League, could meet him as a political colleague or friend but Nawabzada was not ready to see him as a messenger of the present martial law government, or a motivator of a new alliance of pro-government parties. According to a PDP spokesman, the Nawabzada said dialogues with the government on principles could not be held at any cost, and he would neither leave the MRD nor change his friends. The Nawabzada alleged that the government was paving the way through its favourite parties and through the government controlled Press and other media. He returned a gift of cigars with thanks to the government, saying he likes only huqqah. Pir Pagara also sent him a gift of special cigars, which he returned using the same excuse. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Dec 83 p 8]

CSO: 4600/198

END

END OF FICHE

DATE FILMED

20 JAN. 1984